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Shakespeare, William - Ham

# HAMLET

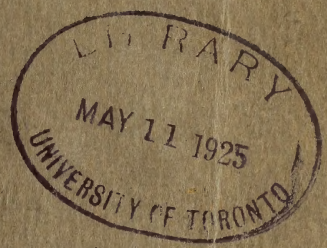
## ITS TEXTUAL HISTORY

BY

H. DE GROOT



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SWETS & ZEITLINGER  
AMSTERDAM  
1923





::        HAMLET        ::  
ITS TEXTUAL HISTORY



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# **HAMLET**

## **ITS TEXTUAL HISTORY**

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ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT TER VERKRIJGING  
VAN DEN GRAAD VAN DOCTOR IN DE LETTEREN  
EN WIJSBEGEERTE AAN DE UNIVERSITEIT VAN  
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AMSTERDAM  
1923





*AAN MIJN VROUW.*





On completing this work I wish to express my best thanks to all those who by their valuable help and kindly sympathy have made it what it is. Foremost amongst these is Prof. A. E. H. Swaen of the University of Amsterdam, who suggested this study to me, and whom I have to thank for much sound advice, and many a patient hearing. I have great pleasure in acknowledging a debt of gratitude to the scholar by whose guidance I have profited, and by whose friendship I have been honoured during a long period of years. — My thanks are due to Dr. W. van der Gaaf, lecturer, whose lessons in philology I attended with the greatest interest. I am indebted to my friend Mr. J. Kooistra for an important collation of texts at the British Museum, and to the Director of the "Amsterdamsche Grafische School" for explaining to me some of the mysteries of type-setting and printing. I have to thank the authorities of the Royal Library at The Hague and the University Library at Groningen for kindly sending me all the books I wanted. The staff of the University Library at Amsterdam have a special claim to my gratitude for the courtesy with which they assisted me and for much bibliographical help.

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## CONTENTS.

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Chap.	Page
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
I. THE "UR-HAMLET" . . . . .	3
II. THE RELATION BETWEEN THE SECOND QUARTO (1604) AND THE FIRST FOLIO (1623) . . . . .	17
III. THE RELATION BETWEEN THE QUARTO OF 1603 ( $Q_1$ ) AND THAT OF 1604 ( $Q_2$ ) . . . . .	44
IV. IS THERE ANY DIRECT CONNECTION BETWEEN $Q_1$ AND $F_1$ ?	118
V. THE PIRACY . . . . .	133
CONCLUSION . . . . .	137
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	141

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## INTRODUCTION.

There are two problems of Hamlet, one afforded by the character of the Danish Prince, the other connected with the texts of the play and the relations between them. It is with this second problem that the present treatise is concerned.

The texts under discussion are: (a) the Quarto Edition of 1603 (First Quarto;  $Q_1$ ); (b) the Quarto Edition of 1604 (Second Quarto;  $Q_2$ ); (c) the *Hamlet* of the Folio Edition of 1623 (First Folio;  $F_1$ ). There are no other plays on the subject of Hamlet in the English language. There is an old German play called *Der bestrafte Brudermord, oder Prinz Hamlet aus Dänemark*, which Cohn printed in his *Shakespeare in Germany* (London, 1865). The uncertain date of its origin, and the language in which it is written, place it outside the scope of the present work. — The questions here at issue are: (1) What is the origin of  $Q_1$ ? (2) What is the origin of  $Q_2$ ? (3) What is the origin of the  $F_1$ -text of *Hamlet*? In order to be able to answer these questions I shall first go into the "Ur-Hamlet" hypothesis. Next I shall establish the nature of  $Q_2$ , and its relation to the Folio. I hope I shall succeed in proving that  $Q_2$  was printed from a Shakespearean manuscript and that the Folio-text of *Hamlet* was set up from a printed copy of  $Q_2$ . I shall then go on to compare  $Q_1$  with  $Q_2$ , taking the "Ur-Hamlet" as my basis. In the course of this discussion I hope I shall be able to make it plausible that  $Q_1$  was printed from a manuscript, partly in the hand of Kyd, partly in that of Shakespeare, from which manuscript passages had been cut by an inferior personage whose task it was to shorten the play, and who, in places, plastered over the wounds he had made in a usually clumsy fashion. Consequently it is my opinion that these three, Kyd, Shakespeare, the adapter, were the only persons that had a hand in the



production of the manuscript which served as "copy" to the printers of Q<sub>1</sub><sup>1)</sup>. I have not found any traces of a pirate, either stenographic reporter or dishonest actor. I am aware that in this respect my opinion differs from that of most Shakespearean scholars. I am also of opinion that there is no direct connection between Q<sub>1</sub> (or any part of it) and the text of the Folio. The following is a summary of what I think is the history of the *Hamlet*-texts :

- a. Kyd writes a play on the subject of Hamlet ("Ur-Hamlet").
- b. This play, which exists in manuscript only, is revised by Shakespeare.
- c. This Kyd-Shakespearean manuscript is given to an adapter to shorten.
- d. This shortened Kyd-Shakespearean manuscript gets into the hands of the printers of Q<sub>1</sub>. The manuscript is lost.
- e. Before the revised play (b) is shortened, Shakespeare revises it a second time. This revision results in a new manuscript.
- f. from this manuscript Q<sub>2</sub> is set up.
- g. a copy of this Q<sub>2</sub> is used at the theatre as prompter's or manager's copy.
- h. it is from this copy of Q<sub>2</sub> that in 1622/3 the Folio text is set up, after Heminge and Condell have "edited" the text.

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<sup>1)</sup> With the possible exception of three passages, the authorship of which may belong to Chapman. See: *Robertson, Problem of Hamlet*, pp. 58—61, and the same author's *Shakespeare and Chapman*, pp. 215—218.

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## CHAPTER I.

### The "Ur-Hamlet".

The first question here to be investigated is the "Ur-Hamlet" hypothesis. Here follow some facts the knowledge of which is necessary for the subsequent theories.

1589. An allusion to a play called "Hamlet", in an Epistle "To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities", written by Nash, and prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon or Arcadia*, printed in 1589.

1594. From Philip Henslowe's *Diary*:

"In the name of God Amen, beginninge at Newington, my Lord Admeralle and my Lorde Chamberlen men as foloweth. 1594. 9 of June 1594, Rd at *hamlet* . . . . . VIII s".

1596. Lodge published in 1596: *Wits Miserie and the World's madnesse*, discovering the Devils incarnate of this Age". One of those Devils is "Hate-virtue", or "Sorrow for another mans good Success", who is "a foule lubber, and looks as pale as the viserd of ye ghost, which cried so miserally at ye theator, like an oysterwife, *Hamlet revenge*."

1598. Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia or Wits Treasury*, mentions twelve plays by Shakespeare, among which Hamlet is not.

1598. A note of Gabriel Harvey's in a copy of Speght's Chaucer which belonged to him: "The younger sort take much delight in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, but his *Lucrece* and his tragedy of *Hamlet Prince of Denmarke* have it in them to please the wiser sort. 1598."<sup>1</sup>)

1602. From Dekker's *Satiro-mastix*: "*Asinius*. Wod I were hang'd if I can call you any names but Captaine and Tucca. — *Tucca*. No, Fye'st; my name's *Hamlet revenge*: thou hast been at Paris garden, hast not?"

<sup>1</sup>) Steevens saw this note — Malone was shown the book by Bishop Percy, and came to the conclusion that the date 1598 referred to the purchase of the book, not to the entry. Most scholars follow Malone. This note is worthless. I give it for completeness' sake.

1602. From the *Stationers' Registers*: (1602).

XXVI<sup>to</sup> July. James Robertes Entred for his Copie under the handes of Master Pasfield / and Master Waterson, warden A booke called The Revenge / of Hamlet, Prince Denmarke as yt was latelie Acted / by the Lord Chamberleyne his servants . . . . VI<sup>d</sup>

1603. First Quarto (Q<sub>1</sub>) printed.

1604/5. Second Quarto (Q<sub>2</sub>) printed.

1607. From *Westward Hoe* (1607): "I, but when light wives make heavy husbands, let these husbands play mad *Hamlet* and crie *Revenge*."

1608. Armin, *Nest of Ninnies*: "ther are, as *Hamlet* saies, things cald whips in store".

1618. Rowlands, *The Night Raven* (1618): "I will not cry *Hamlet Revenge* my greeues, But I will call Hangman *Revenge* on theeves".

1623. First Folio printed.

Malone<sup>1)</sup> already was of opinion, that the *Hamlet* referred to in Nash's letter of 1589 was not Shakespeare's, but some other author's; he suggested Kyd. Some of his arguments are that *Hamlet* shows great likeness to *The Spanish Tragedie*, that Nash's letter seems to refer to a dramatist who had originally been some sort of lawyer's clerk (Kyd was a scrivener's son), and that this dramatist was an imitator of Seneca. (Kyd is known as the translator of Garnier's *Cornélie*, a piece after the model of Seneca.)

The older critics, Dyce, Brown, Knight, Staunton, Elze although coming after Malone, think Nash's allusion is to Shakespeare. They take it, that the youthful Shakespeare was the author of a blood and revenge play in the style of *Titus Andronicus*.

Karl Silberschlag<sup>2)</sup> is in favour of the Kyd-hypo-

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<sup>1)</sup> *Variorum*, 1821, vol. II. p. 372; quoted by Furness, *Variorum*, vol. II, p. 5.

<sup>2)</sup> "Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, seine Quellen und Politischen Beziehungen", 1876. (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XII.)



thesis; he points out that Shakespeare's ghost does not call "Hamlet Revenge", and that the Latin *hic et ubique* of the ghost-scene in the first act points to Kyd, who has a knack of using Latin quotations in his plays.

In 1880 appeared: "The First Quarto Edition of Hamlet, 1603", two *Harness Prize Essays*, the first written by C. H. Herford, the second by W. H. Widgery<sup>1)</sup>. Both authors assume an "Ur-Hamlet," not from the hand of Shakespeare. Widgery identifies the author of this old play with Thomas Kyd, on account of certain phraseological parallels with Kyd's works, especially with *The Spanish Tragedy*, and on account of Nash's letter, which Widgery thinks refers to Kyd.

It is now generally assumed that Thomas Kyd is the author of the hypothetical play. The merit of having established Kyd's authorship as a fact belongs to Gregor Sarrazin, who, in a series of articles,<sup>2)</sup> set forth his arguments in defence of this hypothesis. After pointing out that Shakespeare cannot have been the author, (*Hamlet* does not occur in Meres's list of 1598; the author must have been able to read Belleforest in the original, and it is highly improbable that Shakespeare just arrived from Stratford, knew sufficient French; (the choice of names and many of the scenes are un-Shakespearean, the colouring is Roman-Catholic); in some parts of Q<sub>1</sub> the style of some minor author who is not the youthful Shakespeare, is evident) Sarrazin goes on to prove that the only pre-Shakespearean dramatist who can have been the author is Thomas Kyd. — In the first place there is Malone's authority. It is not difficult to prove that Nash's letter, which refers to fellows that were born to the "trade of Noverint", alludes to Kyd ("the Kidde in Aesop"). A

QUOMMODO SCIAS?  
WE HAVE NO COPY OF  
THE PLAY EXIST.

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<sup>1)</sup> The volume appears to be out of print; there is a very instructive review in *Anglia* IV, from the hand of Dr. G. Tanger. See also Furnivall's "Forewords" to Griggs's facsimile of Q<sub>2</sub>, where long extracts are given.

<sup>2)</sup> "Die Entstehung der Hamlet-tragödie," *Anglia* XII, XIII, 1890/91, afterwards collected and revised in the same author's *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis* (1892).

great number of characteristics of Hamlet which cannot be found in Belleforest, are to be found in Kyd's works (*The Spanish Tragedy*, *The First Part of Jeronimo* — said by Prof. Boas not to be Kyd's — *Soliman and Perseda*, *Cornelia*) and the groundplan of both *The Span. Trag.* and *Jeronimo* is the same as that of *Hamlet*. In these two plays the atmosphere of corruption, secret murder, intrigue, hypocrisy is the same as in *Hamlet*. — Kyd frequently lays stress on the University education of his heroes, Shakespeare does this only in *Hamlet*. In Kyd's plays a love of the military profession is evident, in Shakespeare's there is also plenty of war and preparation for war, but only when the subject requires it. Now the Hamlet-material does not call for any militaristic treatment, yet how full is this play of the pomp and circumstance of glorious war. It seems, as one critic has said, as if we hear the echoes of the war-like year of the Armada in this play, the name of which is first mentioned in the year following that of the great fleet. Fortinbras and Ophelia call Hamlet a soldier, no other Shakespearean hero is carried off the stage with the soldiers' music and the rites of war speaking loudly for him.<sup>1)</sup> Was Kyd, one wonders, at some period of his life a soldier, like Ben Jonson? — In the ghost's speech, and in the interlude, there is a likeness of style and of expression with Kyd's plays. —

Now it is of course possible that Shakespeare imitated Kyd's style, but on various grounds Sarrazin makes it plausible that imitation must be considered out of the question. The assumption that *Hamlet* is originally a play by Kyd, which was re-written by Shakespeare, does not disagree with what we know of Shakespeare's methods, and it will appear that the Kyd-hypothesis explains everything that is un-Shakespearean in *Hamlet*. — If it is true, what most critics take for granted, that  $Q_1$  is a first sketch to  $Q_2$ , then  $Q_1$  must be nearer to Kyd's play than  $Q_2$ . Traces of Kyd must be more

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<sup>1)</sup> E. E. Stoll. *Hamlet, an Historical and Comparative Study*. 1919.

frequent in  $Q_1$  than in  $Q_2$ . Such instances are adduced by Sarrazin.

Whatever several critics may think of, and whatever value they are willing to allow to the German play "*Der Bestrafte Brudermord*" (D), so much is certain, that it is related in some way or other to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Now the prologue to this German play, with its goddesses of revenge, is decidedly un-Shakespearean. Besides, none of the known English texts of *Hamlet* has this prologue. It is, however, typical of the revenge-plays after the model of Seneca, and especially of Kyd. Shakespeare must have known the original of the German prologue, as appears from *Macbeth* III, 5. What is the relation between Kyd's *Hamlet* and (D)? Sarrazin assumes with Creizenach<sup>1)</sup>, that the prologue of the German play belonged to Kyd's *Hamlet*. Both think, however, that the original of the German play was some unknown version of Shakespeare's play which contained much of Kyd's play. As to the nature of this problematical version Sarrazin and Creizenach differ rather considerably. Sarrazin thinks that this text was nearer to Kyd's play than  $Q_1$ ; Creizenach assumes that it was a stage-text, a compromise between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ . As  $Q_2$  must stand much further from the original Kyd-play than  $Q_1$  does, (at least in the opinion of those who think that  $Q_1$  is mainly a first revision of the play,  $Q_2$  being a second), it follows that the original assumed by Creizenach is considerably more Shakespearean than Sarrazin's.

Sarrazin observes of the ghost mentioned by Lodge (*Wits Miserie*, 1595) that it was not the ghost of Shakespeare's play, but one closely related to Andrea's ghost in *The Spanish Tragedie*, which also cries "Awake, Revenge." In *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis* he discusses Nash's letter at some length and concludes that everything that is clear to modern readers, must refer to Kyd. — *The Spanish Tragedie* has many traces of Senecan influence, even Latin quotations

<sup>1)</sup> *Mittheilungen der Kön. Sächs. Gesellschaft*, 1887, 1889 — afterwards in *Modern Philology*, II, 1904.



from Seneca's works. Shakespeare's *Hamlet* shows the stereotyped dramatical motives of antique tragedy, especially Seneca's: fratricide, adultery, appearance of a ghost calling for revenge, collision of the duty to revenge with other duties, madness and suicide of the deserted love, rebellion, dissimulated reconciliation and treacherous revenge. *Hamlet* shows great resemblance to Seneca's *Agamemnon*, to which play the classical allusions in *Hamlet* seem to point especially.<sup>1)</sup> The Senecan touches in *Hamlet* cannot come from Shakespeare, as he shows hardly any Senecan influence in his other works. Therefore the influence of Seneca on *Hamlet* came by an indirect way, viz. through the "Ur-Hamlet". The "Ur-Hamlet" belonged to that group of older English plays in which the author tried to treat medieval-romantic matter after the model of Seneca. (*Gorboduc, Tancred and Gismunda, Triumphs of Love and Fortune, The Misfortunes of Arthur, Soliman and Perseda*).<sup>2)</sup> Sarrazin comes to the conclusion that the "Ur-Hamlet", a work by Kyd, was influenced essentially by Seneca's tragedies, perhaps also by older English tragedies in the style of Seneca. The action and the characters must have been the same as in Shakespeare. Especially the ghost is by Kyd, but also the play-within-the-play, the conversation between mother and son, Ophelia, her madness and death, Laertes (Cp. *Lorenzo* in *Sp. Tr.*). Sarrazin has his doubts about the final scene, but thinks the method of the catastrophe is more after Kyd's than after Shakespeare's taste. "Der Ur-Hamlet wird ein Stück im Stil der Spanischen Tragödie gewesen sein, unnatürlich und bombastisch, aber bühnenwirksam; ein echtes Produkt der Spätrenaissance: eine mittelalterliche Sage nach dem Muster antiker Rachetragödien dramatisiert, in den Charakteren modernisiert und *italianisiert* <sup>3)</sup>, etwas von humanistischer

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<sup>1)</sup> See also the article by Max J. Wolff, discussed below.

<sup>2)</sup> See for a probable Italian influence on these plays Max J. Wolff, in the article discussed below.

<sup>3)</sup> The italics are mine.

Sittenfäulnis angeweht." Sarrazin suggests the possibility that Kyd's *Hamlet* is not original, but derived from an *Italian*<sup>1)</sup> play, likewise lost. He refers to the Italian names, colouring, Roman-Catholicism, characters. Some additions by Kyd to the saga or alterations in it are: Ophelia becomes a romantical-tragical figure (Cp. Bellimperia); Laertes becomes brother to Ophelia and enemy to her lover (Cp. Lorenzo); the play-scene; the hero is developed into a melancholy and tragic figure (Cp. Hieronimo). Shakespeare took from Kyd: the frame, some turns of expression, some verses. In the earlier part there is more of Kyd than in the latter (See Boas, *Thomas Kyd*). The Gonzago-play was taken from the old play almost literally.

The above important articles by G. Sarrazin, which for good and all established Kyd as the author of a play called *Hamlet*, the original of Shakespeare's play, seem to have strongly influenced Max J. Wolff, in his article "Zum Urhamlet" (*Englische Studien*, 45, 1912). This article is here mentioned first because it completes and fills in the picture of Kyd's *Hamlet* as we have it from the hand of Sarrazin.

Wolff first observes that the "Ur-Hamlet" was presumably Shakespeare's *only* source. — Starting from Nash's letter (1589) Wolff states the fact that Nash does not mention the immensely popular and older (?) *Spanish Tragedy*, but falls foul of *Hamlet*, which was not nearly so much run after as the other piece. The reason, Wolff thinks, is, that the *Spanish Tragedy* addressed itself to the popular stage, Kyd's *Hamlet* on the other hand had classical pretences, and thereby laid itself open to the criticism of a classical scholar addressing an academical audience. Kyd's *Hamlet*, although it had the same action as the *Spanish Tragedy*, must in one respect have been its opposite, it was a classical play, not a popular one. Superficially it would seem that the northern barbaric material was unfit for classical tragedy. But Aristotle already recommended family-feuds and murder of relations as fit

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<sup>1)</sup> The italics are mine.

subjects for tragedy. The sixteenth century Italians took their materials frequently from northern stories. The latter recommended themselves by their cruelty to authors who mistook the cruel for the tragic. — Besides, the Hamlet-subject shows resemblance to classical myths, to Orestes, but even more to Merope. (Polyphontes, who murders his brother Kresphentes, King of Messenia, usurps the Kingdom, marries his brother's widow, and is killed by the son of the murdered king.) This subject was recommended for dramatical treatment by Aristotle, and actually dramatized in Italy in 1582, 1588 and 1589. In the last named year Pomponio Torelli wrote a *Merope* which resembles *Q<sub>1</sub>-Hamlet* on ten points, all given by Wolff. The Queen in the Italian piece is, just as in *Hamlet*, a gentle, will-less woman, without wickedness, quite different from the Senecan Clytemnestra-type. (This last observation is of great importance as too much stress can hardly be laid on the fact that the Hamlet story presents at least as much difference from the Oresteia as it resembles it in other respects.) — Italian influence may be indicated in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. There is in the first place the peculiar mixing up of autochthonous names with Latin and Italian names, a custom derived from Giraldi (the English classical authors of *Gorboduc*, *Misfortunes of Arthur*, etc. followed him). In *Lear* and *Macbeth* Shakespeare uses only northern names, in *Twelfth Night* he even uses English names in purely Italian surroundings. — In the second place governors of provinces (Orvendil and Fengon in the saga) become kings, which practice is un-Shakespearean (cf. *Othello*), but in accordance with classical theory, which allows only personages of royal rank as principal characters in tragedy. — A third indication of Italian influence the author sees in the catastrophe, especially in accord with the classical rule which condemns tragedies with a double ending, fair for one, foul for another. The butchering on the open stage is not against classical practice (Giraldi). There are no popular crowds in *Hamlet* as there are in *Romeo*, and in *Julius Caesar*. The



rabble headed by Laertes do not enter the King's presence. — In conclusion the tone of hostility in *Hamlet* against everything connected with the court, which is considered as the central point of moral corruption, points to an author who stood very strongly under Italian influence.<sup>1)</sup> Wolff considers it not at all improbable that an Italian had dramatized the Hamlet-material before Kyd, a suggestion also made by Sarrazin.

One remark by Wolff calls for special comment, as it does not seem to be in accordance with the facts. Having made it clear, on the above considerations, that Kyd's *Hamlet* was a conventional, academical drama, not fit for the popular stage, the critic observes that the *Hamlet* played at the theatre of Newington Butts in 1594 (mentioned in *Henslowe's Diary*) must have been a popular drama, as the plays performed at this theatre were only popular ones, and Henslowe produced no academical plays. This observation leads Wolff to the assumption of a second pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*, which was a play after the popular taste. Prof. Schick<sup>2)</sup>, however, says that the pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet* is never mentioned without being mocked, and the performance of 1594 brought Henslowe only eight shillings, a small sum, as for other plays he received three pounds, and more, so it cannot have been a play that was much run after. It was never printed, whereas the *Span. Trag.* was printed twelve times. — It would seem to me that Henslowe brought for once an academical play, but the experiment failed and was not repeated.

One of the merits of Sarrazin's articles is, that they establish the Senecan nature of "Ur-Hamlet." Wolff has elaborated this conception, and added the direct Italian influence already hinted at by Sarrazin. Wolff has explained away the last doubts as to the classical nature of Kyd's play, and accounted

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<sup>1)</sup> Prof. Boas gives a translation of Tasso among Kyd's works.

<sup>2)</sup> "Festvortrag", *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXXVIII, 1902; see also Prof. Boas, *Thomas Kyd*, chapter on "Ur-Hamlet."

for the difference from the *Agamemnon* by suggesting the *Merope* saga as the ultimate source, which had passed through Italian plays of the latter half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

I now proceed to a rapid review of some other authors who have contributed to our knowledge of the pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet*. Prof. J. Schick <sup>1)</sup> also gives this play to Kyd. Comparing the sources of the play, and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, with what we further know of Shakespeare, Schick concludes that Kyd must have created the ghost. He also killed Hamlet in the taking of his revenge, for he was a good hand at the technique of a play, and saw that the later adventures of Hamlet in England could not be brought with the earlier ones into one play. So the bloody close is Kyd's. <sup>2)</sup> Kyd having thus laid down the opening and the close of the play it was Shakespeare's task to fill up the five acts, and it must be the task of criticism to say if he has done this in the right manner. <sup>3)</sup> In the preface to his edition of *The Spanish Tragedy*, <sup>4)</sup> p. 43, Schick "indulges in a flight of fancy," and identifies eight lines by Kyd, preserved as a fragment in Allott's *England's Parnassus* (1600) as belonging to the "Ur-Hamlet," perhaps to a chorus towards the end of the play, denouncing the tyrant Claudius. The fragment begins :

It is an hell, in hateful vassalage,  
Under a tyrant to consume one's age.

It is reprinted in Boas : *Thomas Kyd*.

Prof. F. A. Boas, who in 1901 published for the first time Kyd's complete works, in his chapter on the "Ur-Hamlet"

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<sup>1)</sup> "Festvortrag : Die Entstehung des Hamlet," *Shakespeare Jahrb.* XXXVIII, 1902.

<sup>2)</sup> Observe that Wolff thinks Kyd had to kill Hamlet at the end, because the theory of the school required it.

<sup>3)</sup> This note was afterwards taken up by the American critics whose views are set forth with great eloquence by Prof. E. E. Stoll, *Hamlet*, 1919. These works do not come within the scope of the present treatise.

<sup>4)</sup> London, 1898.

brings little that is new. He strengthens the probability of Nash's letter referring to Kyd and goes the length of saying that the bulk of the blank verse in the three later acts of *Hamlet* is unmistakeably pre-Shakespearean, which is an over-bold statement, not sufficiently attested to by the scanty parallels with *The Span. Trag.* which Boas gives. This author further suggests that Shakespeare's occasion for re-writing *Hamlet* may have been the extraordinary success of Ben Jonson's expanded version of *The Spanish Tragedy*, and that, as his original, he may not have had Kyd's play in its original form but a popularized stage-version of it.

In December 1905, Albert E. Jack published an essay in the "*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*" in which he discussed at length the well-known letter of Nash, and asserted that Nash must have meant a classical philologist, not a dramatist, so that no conclusion was to be drawn from this letter, as to the authorship of the "Ur-Hamlet". John W. Cunliffe, however, contradicted this and thought that Nash must have meant the ignorant dramatists who pirated the translations.<sup>1)</sup>

W. Creizenach,<sup>2)</sup> a cautious, sober scholar, says that one thing is certain from Lodge, viz. that the poet of the older play has given us the ghost. Further it is his opinion that Nash's letter points to Kyd. Many scholars try to separate Shakespeare's work from Kyd's. This is dangerous as we know Kyd's work from only one play. Creizenach, who is inclined to ascribe as much as possible to Shakespeare, grudging the other author his share in the work, thinks the tragical conclusion is Shakespeare's. In *King Lear* he found an original in which the hero conquers triumphantly. Shakespeare killed the hero, and did the same with the Hamlet-material. — The transposition of the scene of the action from Jutland to Copenhagen (Elsinore) was probably in the old play, as

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<sup>1)</sup> *Shakespeare Jahrb.* XLII, 1906.

<sup>2)</sup> "Hamlet-fragen", *Sh. Jahrb.* XLII, 1906.



the castle of Kronberg was finished in 1585, when English actors visited Copenhagen.

In 1907 Prof. C. M. Lewis published *The Genesis of Hamlet* (New York) in which he tried to reconstruct the "Ur-Hamlet." After comparing Belleforest and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* with Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, the author, evidently under the influence of the Schlegel-Coleridgean view of Hamlet's character, comes to the conclusion, that the Hamlet of Shakespeare's perfect play is really two heroes, welded together: Kyd's Hamlet does most of the action, Shakespeare's doing the thinking. In Kyd's play Hamlet was revenge personified, Shakespeare studies the hero's moods between command and execution.<sup>1)</sup>

Mr. J. M. Robertson<sup>2)</sup> adds to the number of phraseological parallels given by Widgery and Sarrazin. He suggests that "Kyd's Probable Construction" was a double play. Referring to Dr. Roderich Benedix: *Die Shakespearomanie*, (Stuttgart 1873)<sup>3)</sup> who first drew attention to the bad construction of *Hamlet* in respect of five episodes which are superfluous and have not the slightest influence on the action of the tragedy, (the embassy to Norway, the journeys of Laertes and Reynaldo, the journey of Fortinbras through Denmark to Poland, Hamlet's voyage to England) Robertson goes on to say that we cannot assume that Shakespeare invented the embassy, the journey of Reynaldo and the campaign of Fortinbras, as this would mean imputing to him a kind of gratuitous mismanagement impossible to him as a practical playwright. Rather we must assume that these incidents were given him, The huge dramatic material of *Hamlet*, which makes it Shakespeare's longest play, would already suggest a double play as the groundwork. This suggestion is strengthened by the consideration, that Shakespeare, about the time of the publication of *Hamlet*, was concerned in the reduction

<sup>1)</sup> *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1908.

<sup>2)</sup> *The Problem of Hamlet* (1919).

<sup>3)</sup> Quoted by Furness, *Variorum Hamlet*, Vol. II, p. 351.

of Whetstone's two-part play of *Promos and Cassandra* to a single play, *Measure for Measure*. There is strong reason for thinking, with Fleay, that *Julius Caesar* is a compression of two plays into one. Further Robertson thinks *The Spanish Tragedy* is a member of a double play (a "Spanish Comedy Don Horatio", now lost, followed by "Jeronimo"—the old name for *The Spanish Tragedy*) and assumes that "The First Part of Hamlet" proceeded on the main lines of the "Comedy", which comedy he tries to reconstruct by the help of *Hamlet*. The death of Polonius, followed by the dispatch of Hamlet to England may have been the conclusion of this "First Part", leaving the "Second" to begin with the return of Laertes to seek *his* revenge.<sup>1)</sup> — Even on this hypothesis there is still the irrelevant Reynaldo (Montano) scene. Such irrelevant scene-writing is the specialty of Chapman. So it is probable that this Reynaldo-scene is neither by Kyd, nor by Shakespeare, but by Chapman, who may also have been the author of the player's Pyrrhus-speech and the Gonzago-play.

Prof. Stoll in his "Hamlet" quoted above, observes numerous parallels between *Hamlet* and the works of Euripides, some verbal, some of sentiment only. Orestes has the same doubt about a divine voice as Hamlet has about his father's ghost. The character of Horatio is the equivalent of Pylades, the faithful friend who in the end would die with Hamlet, just as Pylades would die with Orestes. Then there is the fact that the hero's father died without the rites of the dead, of which so much is made in *Hamlet* just as in the Greek Orestes plays. In conclusion there is the explicit command of the ghost to Hamlet, not to do anything against his mother, where the author evidently wanted expressly to avoid the Oresteian dilemma. — These parallels with the Oresteia must have been in Kyd's play: Shakespeare had

<sup>1)</sup> I observe, that this view would admirably fit in with the little activity shown by Hamlet in the IV<sup>th</sup> Act as we have it. In the "Second Part" Laertes would take the lead, assisted by the King, leaving to Hamlet the defence.

not Greek enough, but Kyd probably had, having been a Merchant Taylors' boy.<sup>1)</sup>

In sum, we may assume that most modern critics are agreed on the following points: there was a play on the subject of Hamlet before Shakespeare's; the author of this play was Thomas Kyd, who wrote it shortly before 1589; it was a blood and revenge play after the manner of Seneca and the Italian dramatists of the latter half of the sixteenth century; it was an academical play; in plot, in incident, and in the outlines of the principal characters this play was not greatly different from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. In Kyd's play was the secret murder, and the ghost to reveal it to the son; feigned madness, delay and self-reproaches; the interlude and the sparing of the king at prayer; the closet-scene and the killing of the eaves-dropper; the voyage to England, broken off; the madness and suicide of Ophelia; the irrelevant scenes, which may not have been so irrelevant in the old play; the fencing-scene and the treason; the bloody close.<sup>2)</sup> So it appears that two great difficulties of the play as we have it, were already in the pre-Shakespearean stage of the work. One is the feigned madness of the hero, which is uncalled for, the murder being a secret one; and the other is the hero's insufficiently motivated delay. The latter is of course the greater crux of the two, in fact it is the problem of Hamlet which has puzzled generations, the character-problem which is responsible for that huge mass of philosophical, psychological, moralizing and aesthetical commentary which the nineteenth century has loaded upon the Elizabethan play. Turn we now to that other problem, the problem of the relations between the three texts of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

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<sup>1)</sup> See however the articles by Sarrazin and Max J. Wolff, discussed above, on a probable Italian source for Kyd's Hamlet.

<sup>2)</sup> I am here following Stoll, *Hamlet*, p. 5.

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## CHAPTER II.

### The Relation between the Second Quarto (1604) and the First Folio (1623).

Mr. A. W. Pollard in his *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*,<sup>1)</sup> discusses the history of a Shakespearean play from the moment when it left the author's hands, to its being printed for the First Folio. He says it is probable that the manuscript which the author handed to the players was in his own handwriting, as a scrivener coming between the author and the company of players, would be too expensive for the poor author; besides the chance of piracy would be considerably greater if a copyist was trusted with an author's manuscript of a play not yet acted. But there is more evidence. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of November 1613 the dramatist Daborne is writing to Henslowe about his tragedy on Machiavelli. He says that the "fayr" copy is not yet ready, but he sends the unfinished one, as Henslowe is becoming impatient, together with the finished "foul" copy, promising that he will not fail to finish the fair copy as soon as possible.<sup>2)</sup>

On the evidence of several plays by other contemporaries of Shakespeare, which have come down to us in their authors' own handwriting, we may assert the following two facts: (a) the players could obtain the verdict of the Master of the Revels as to whether a play might be publicly acted, or not, by submitting to him the play as written by the author, sometimes in pretty rough manuscript, and with passages written on slips pasted in; (b) plays endorsed with the licence for their public performance were handed over to the prompter and by him converted into prompt-copies,

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<sup>1)</sup> A series of lectures delivered at Cambridge in 1915, and published in book form in 1917. (London, Alexander Moring).

<sup>2)</sup> Quoted by Pollard from *Henslowe Papers*, ed. W. W. Greg, article 89, p. 78.



without the "play-house scrivener," if such a person existed, being given a chance. In Heminge and Condell's preface to the Folio we have an important statement. They say: "His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers." — According to Pollard this implies two things: (a) the Folio Editors, as members of Shakespeare's company had received from him "his papers" i. e. autograph manuscripts of at least some of his plays; (b) these autograph manuscripts were not "fair copies", such as Daborne was in the habit of delivering, but the text of the plays as he first wrote them down. The absence of blots from a scrivener's copy would prove nothing at all; therefore the papers must have been autograph. The absence of blots from an autograph "fair copy" could not possibly be quoted as a basis for the assertion that his mind and hand went together, and that he wrote with that "easinesse" which Heminge and Condell hold up for our admiration. Therefore the papers were the original drafts. Pollard observes that many critics think this statement of the Folio Editors mere tradesmanlike advertisement, and therefore are sceptical about its truth. He however is convinced of the editors' veracity. "In the absence of evidence to the contrary in the case of any individual play, there is thus a bibliographical presumption that it reached the players in the author's original autograph manuscript.

As was said above, the author's MS. was taken to the Master of the Revels, and the same copy was then used as a prompt-copy. This statement clinches the above reasoning, as there is plenty of evidence that, when a play was printed by any one except a pirate, it was the text of the prompt-copy that was set up. The evidence consists in the survival of stage-directions of a certain kind. In writing out a play, the author, in case he was familiar with the stage (as Shakespeare was) might use the same technical language as the prompter. Mr. Greg has pointed out that such an author

would be almost as likely as the prompter to substitute the name of the actor for the part itself, (as in *Romeo and Juliet*, Quarto 1599: *Enter Will Kemp!*) When the MS. reached the playhouse the prompter would insert in the margin any further technical directions as to music, shouts or other noises to be made "within" (behind the stage). As the present purpose is to prove that the Quarto text was set up from the author's copy (which was identical with the prompter's) whether any given direction was made by the author, or added to the manuscript by the prompter, is all one.

When a play was put into print for the benefit of the reading public, the prompter's notes (whether written by himself or the author) should be transformed into descriptive phrases (as was done by the Folio editors). Such descriptive phrases always have a much neater appearance, and are also inserted where they are not strictly necessary for the players, but very useful to the reader. Fairly often, however, an original technical stage-direction remained in print, which betrays the nature of the copy from which the printed text was set up. (see below)

It may be objected by those who oppose this theory, that the players would not be willing to hand over their actual prompt-copy to the printer, as they would have been left without a text of their own, save such as could be reconstructed from the actor's parts. There is, however, clear evidence that copies of authorized Quartos were used in the theatre as prompt-copies. Even then the players would be, say for a month, without a prompt-copy to play from. We may, however, be sure they were not acting the plays at the time they sold them. They seem to have had the custom to sell old plays to the printers when they were in financial difficulties. Besides, it would be bad managerial policy to print a play then actually played in the theatre, thus enabling the public to read it at home, while keeping them from the theatre.

Against the theory, that the Quarto was set up from the

author's autograph manuscript another objection might be raised, viz. that the texts of these first editions contain too many mistakes to stand in such immediate contact with their source. But it has been argued above that Shakespeare supplied the players, not with corrected copies, but with treacherously clean-looking rough ones, so that part of these mistakes might be ascribed to Shakespeare himself. The rest we may confidently assign to the Elizabethan printer, who seems to have had a genius for introducing any number of errors into the text supplied to him, which a superficial reading of the First Folio suffices to demonstrate. These two sources are sufficient to account for all the faults in the Quartos; it is not necessary to postulate one or more copyists to share the blame.

Mr. Pollard thus makes it clear, that in some cases Shakespeare's own autograph of a play may have been the copy supplied to its first printer, and rests his case on the following four points :

(a) that the manuscripts handed to the players were in Shakespeare's autograph, (b) that in other cases we find an autograph MS. used as a prompt-copy, (c) that at least some of the First Quartos were set up from prompt-copies, (d) that the proved inaccuracy of the printers allows us to assume an original quite as free from faults as an autograph copy supplied by Shakespeare was likely to be.

The later Quartos have no authority, as it can be easily proved that none of them were obtained by consulting any new manuscript. They were all printed from the First Quarto. "The causes of the great bulk of the variants introduced into the later Quartos seem to be those common to all copying." It is Pollard's opinion that the Folio editors had no independent authority at hand by which to correct their Quarto-material, *so that, if they found corruption, they had to botch up the text themselves.* Now it is a positive fact, that not in all cases where the Quarto is corrupt, the Folio gives a clumsy emendation. Sometimes it gives a really good



one, for which a source must be sought other than new manuscript material. Now there is ample evidence that copies of the printed Quartos were used in the theatre as prompt-copies, and that these prompt-copies were used in preparing the Folio-text, with the result that some of their manuscript stage-directions got into print. If a prompter could annotate a printed quarto with additional stage-directions for his own use, there seems no reason why he should not have brought the text of his copy into some kind of occasional conformity with any variations made by the actors whom he had to prompt. The actors would presumably still have at their disposal the *original* acting-parts. In so far as they had learnt these correctly they would restore true readings which the First Quarto had corrupted; in so far as they did not know their parts correctly, they would introduce mistakes. If the prompter copied these deviations from his printed text, whether good or bad, we have here an explanation of the two or three good readings of the Folio, and at the same time we can assign some bad readings to the actors, instead of to the printer of the Folio. *It was from this printed prompter's quarto, augmented with new stage-directions and also with variants which originated with the actors, that the Folio-text was set up.*

It will now be clear that, however corrupt in spelling, punctuation, emphasis capitals, words, the text of the First Quarto may be, it is still likely to be nearer than any other text to what the author wrote, so that it has most authority.

The punctuation of the Quartos is light, dramatical, that of the Folio heavy, rhetorical. There is good evidence that Shakespeare preferred a light to a heavy punctuation in Hamlet's advice to the Players: "Speake the speech I pray you as I pronounc'd it to you, trippingly on the tongue, but if you mouth it, as many of our Players do, I had as li[e]ve the towne cryer spoke my lines." We find this notably light punctuation in editions of several different plays, set up by several different printers, and so it seems a fair deduction



that this light punctuation, though the printers may have corrupted it grossly, yet reflects a light punctuation in their copy, and so suggests Shakespeare's own habit. — A similar deduction may be made as regards the use of emphasis capitals, with which Shakespeare's manuscript, judging from *Q<sub>2</sub>*-Hamlet, seems to have been only moderately sprinkled, whereas the Folio is simply dotted with them. They seem to have indicated a slight emphasis on the words thus prefixed. Taking again Hamlet's evidence as proof of the supposition we may quote: "In the very torrent tempest, and as I may say, whirlwind of your passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance, that may give it *smoothness*." The Folio is an "edited" text, the actors who were responsible for it, had their own ideas about spelling, punctuation, emphasis capitals. They altered the laconic stage-directions, so that they were fitter for a reading public.

We arrive at last at the following summary of Pollard's views on the history of an average play by Shakespeare, from the moment that it left its author's hands, to the time that it was set up for the Folio of 1623 :

- (a) the author hands his MS. to the Players;
- (b) this MS. is used in the theatre as prompt-copy, technical stage-directions are added to it; (it is possible and even probable that at this stage suggestions were made by the players which caused interpolations and cuts);
- (c) from this prompt-copy the Quarto-text is set up, and the original MS. is lost;
- (d) a copy of the printed quarto is now used to prompt from, interpolations and new stage-directions are added, and cuts are made;
- (e) this prompt-copy is used to print the Folio-text from, after Heminge and Condell have "edited" the text.

Now these are hypotheses. However, an hypothesis may be said to approach to the truth, when it works, i.e. when it solves all or nearly all the difficulties which it sets out to

solve. When, taking Mr. Pollard's hypotheses for our basis, we set to work upon a definite first quarto and a definite first folio text, and there is practically nothing that cannot be explained by them, we may say that they approach the truth as nearly as may be expected of things literary. This is what I propose to do. I shall closely compare the text of the Quarto edition of *Hamlet* of 1604 with that of the First Folio *Hamlet*, and point out, on the one hand that the Quarto shows signs of having been printed from Shakespeare's MS., and on the other, that the Folio must have been printed from a copy of the Quarto which had served its turn as prompt-copy in the playhouse. The quarto of 1603, usually called Q<sub>1</sub>, and that of 1604, called Q<sub>2</sub> being widely different, must be considered, as Pollard points out, as the First Editions of two different texts, so that each has the rank of a First Quarto. The quarto of 1603 (Q<sub>1</sub>) was not used by the Folio editors. They probably considered this text corrupt, which, in a sense, it is. Its relation to the Second Quarto (Q<sub>2</sub>) I shall reserve for special treatment in the third chapter of the present treatise.

The text-editions used for this investigation are W. Griggs' *Photo-lithographic facsimile of the Second Quarto (1604) of Hamlet*<sup>1)</sup> and *The Works of William Shakespeare, in Reduced Facsimile*, by J. O. Halliwell-Phillips.<sup>2)</sup> The references to acts, scenes and lines are from the "Arden" edition (Prof. Dowden).

A. Inaccuracies and Corruptions in Q<sub>2</sub>, which on the one hand help to prove that Q<sub>2</sub> was set up from Shakespeare's MS. and on the other that the Folio-text was printed from a copy of Q<sub>2</sub> which had been used as prompt-copy.

(1) Q<sub>2</sub>. V. 2. 80. *Enter Courtier*.

The rubric also gives *cour.*, but after line 277 this becomes *Ostr.* The "lines" have *Ostricke*.

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<sup>1)</sup> London, undated.

<sup>2)</sup> London, 1876.

(2) In  $Q_2$  III. 4. except in one place the Queen is indicated by the rubric *Quee*. In all other scenes as *Ger. (Gertrard)*. Such irregularities point to Shakespeare's rough copy as the printer's manuscript.

Other corruptions in  $Q_2$  may be explained in this way, that the author had indicated certain words to be left out, but the printer overlooked the correction.<sup>1)</sup> I see instances of this in :

(3)  $Q_2$ . III. 2. 178 *seqq.*

Discomfort you my Lord it nothing must,  
For women feare too much, euen as they loue,  
And womens feare and loue hold quantitie,  
*Eyther none*, in neither ought, or in extremitie.

*Eyther none*, says Tanger, was struck out by Shakespeare and replaced by *in neither ought*, which means the same.

The line :

For women feare too much, euen as they loue,  
is the only one in the interlude which does not rhyme ; besides it is only a paraphrase of the following line. It was evidently meant by the author to be left out. So that the passage is easiest emended if we accept the following corrections :

*For women feare too much, euen as they loue,*  
*And womens feare and loue hold quantitie,*  
*Eyther none*, in neither ought, or in extremitie<sup>2)</sup>

which reading is that of the Folio. This fact may be explained : the author noticed the mistake in the Quarto, it was corrected in the prompter's copy, and so the Folio got the correct reading.

The following is a case in point :

(4)  $Q_2$ . IV. 7. 8.

As by your safetie, *greatness*, wisdom, all things else.

This line, as it is in  $Q_2$  is too long ; *greatness* was struck

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<sup>1)</sup> I am here, and in one or two other places, indebted to G. Tanger, "Hamlet nach Shakespeare's Manuscript", *Anglia* IV (1881) p. 211.

<sup>2)</sup> The words to be struck are in italics.

out by Shakespeare in his MS. The Q<sub>2</sub> compositor overlooked the correction, so *greatness* was printed, but was struck out again by the prompter, (= manager = Shakespeare himself?) and so did not appear in the Folio.

(5) Q<sub>2</sub>. IV. 5. 151.

As day dooes to your eye.     *A noyse within.*<sup>1)</sup>

*Enter Ophelia*

*Laer.* Let her come in

How now, what noyse is that?

F<sub>1</sub>.

As day do's to your eye.

*A noise within. Let her come in.*

*Enter Ophelia.*

*Laer.* How now? what noise is that?

The Q<sub>2</sub> line "Let her come in" has evidently got into the wrong place here, being followed by Laertes' question: "How now what noyse is that?" It is not probable that the line must be given to the king, as in that case Laertes' question would be almost as irrelevant as it is now. It is certainly not a stage-direction as in F<sub>1</sub>. The explanation is, no doubt, that the line was struck out by Shakespeare in his MS., but the printer overlooked the correction. The correction was again made, when the Quarto was used as a prompt-copy. The marks used for striking out resembled those indicating stage-directions or italics, (probably then as now the words were lined through, and the line accidentally came under the words, instead of through the words) which accounts for the Folio-printer making a stage-direction of the line "Let her come in".

(6) III. 2. 265. (Q<sub>2</sub>)

So you *mistake* your husbands.

F<sub>1</sub>.

So you *mistake* Husbands.

"Your" was dropped accidentally, so that the Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub> lines are identical. Q<sub>1</sub> has: "So you *must take* your husband".

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<sup>1)</sup> The stage-directions are in italics.



Evidently the *mistake* of  $Q_2$  was an error, which was continued into  $F_1$ . This identity of error helps to show that the Folio was set up from  $Q_2$ .

## B. The stage-directions in the Quarto.

The stage-directions in  $Q_2$  are technical and mostly printed in the margin, which points to Shakespeare's MS., those in the Folio are descriptive, and often in the middle of the page, which are marks of an "edited" text. Some characteristically technical stage-directions in  $Q_2$  are :

(1) I. 1. 127. *It spreads his armes*

(2) I. 1. 128. *The cocke crows*

Both are in the margin. They are managerial directions which were written upon the prompter's copy (identical with Shakespeare's MS.).

(3) I. 4. 6. *A florish of trumpets*  
*and 2. peecees goes of*

This stage-direction was edited away in the Folio.

(4) I. 4. 57. *Beckins* (The Folio has : "Ghost beckins Hamlet).

(5) III. 2. 97. *Enter Trumpets and Kettle Drummes, King, Queen, Polonius, Ophelia.*

The Folio has here: "Enter King, Queene, Polonius, Ophelia, Rosencrance, Guildensterne, and other Lords attendant, with his Guard carrying Torches. Danish March. Sound a Flourish.

(6) IV. 4. 1. *Enter Fortinbrasse with his Army ouer the stage.*

(7) V. 2. 235. *A table prepard, Trumpets, Drums and officers with cushion.* "With cushion" was no doubt put there by the manager for fear the players should forget it.

(8) V. 2. 292. *Drum, trumpets and shot.* } In the margin.  
*Florish, a peece goes off.* }

## C. Some characteristically descriptive stage-directions of the Folio.

(1) III. 2. 274. *Poures the poyson in his eares*

This stage-direction is wanting in  $Q_2$ , being unnecessary to the Players. It is however very useful to the reader.

(2) III. 4. 217. Exit Hamlet, *tugging in Polonius*.

(3) V. 1. 272. *Leaps in the grave*.

The words in italics of numbers (2) and (3) (wanting in Q<sub>2</sub>) were added by Heminge and Condell for the benefit of the reader.

(4) V. 2. 313. *In scuffling they change Rapiers*. The Folio editors added this stage-direction from their remembrance of the stage-practice.

(5) V. 2. *Hurts the King. King Dyes*. These two directions are unnecessary to the players, but useful to the reader.

#### D. Passages of Q<sub>2</sub> not in F<sub>1</sub>.

(1) I. 1. lines 108—115 (four lines by Bernardo, and Horatio's speech on the omens preceding the death of Julius Caesar).

(2) I. 2. 58—60 (wroung . . . . . concert).

(3) I. 4. 17—38 (Hamlet's speech on drunkenness, etc).

(4) I. 4. 75—78 (four descriptive lines).

Numbers (1) to (4) are cuts made to shorten the scenes.

#### 5.

II. 2. 474/75 (as wholesome . . . . . fine) a cut owing to the criticism of the actor, or of Shakespeare himself.

#### 6.

III. 2. 230/31, an accidental omission.

#### 7.

III. 4 lines 71 (half) — 81, except :

What devil was 't

That thus hath cozen'd you at hoodman-blind.

These two cuts were made by a practical stage-manager, probably Shakespeare himself, who saw that the omitted lines were too involved and difficult to be taken in by the audience.

Any audience of not more than normal understanding must be puzzled by these lines. That this was the real reason for cutting these lines, and not a mere desire to shorten the play, is clear from the sentence (quoted above) which was spared and which separates the two cuts. This sentence is clear and is easily combined with the *judgment* of line 70.

The cutting of the lines 78—81 shows decidedly good taste.

8.

III. 4. 161—170. except:

refrain to night,  
And that shall lend a kind of easinesse  
To the next abstinence.

This is a very clean cut to shorten the speech.

9.

III. 4. 202—210; (Hamlet on the hoisting with the petar.)

This passage of Q<sub>2</sub> must have got in by mistake. Unless Hamlet possesses supernatural powers, how is he to know that his two schoolfellows must “marshall him to knavery”? The mistake was observed after the piece was printed, and therefore was cut from the prompt-copy, which explains its absence in the Folio.

10.

IV. 2. 41—44 (half); probably cut by Shakespeare in the interest of the character of Claudius, whose kingliness would suffer if he appeared to be afraid of the whispering tongue of slander.

11.

IV. 3. 28—30. Accidentally left out in the Folio.

12.

IV. 4. 9—66. (Hamlet's dialogue with the captain, and the soliloquy “How all occasions do inform against me”).

This cut was made to shorten the piece, I think. Fortinbras and his army are just shown in order to prepare us for his appearance at the close of the fifth act. The suppression of the soliloquy "How all occasions do inform against me" proves the ruthlessness with which even the most beautiful passages were sacrificed, when the practical business of the stage required it.

13.

IV. 7. 69—82 (half). (The King on the vanity of youth.) This passage was left out as it made the king appear too old. From this, and from what was said under number 10, it would appear that even after the play was printed, Shakespeare continued to add touches to his characters, thus continuing the line of development which extends from  $Q_1$  via  $Q_2$  to  $F_1$ . (See also 14 and 15).

14.

IV. 7. 101—103 (half); this omission may be accident, or Shakespeare thought his king too verbose, which is certainly the reason of the following cut.

15.

IV. 7. 115—124 (on the "weeke" in the flame of love).

16.

V. 2. 107—147 (condensed in the Folio to the one sentence, given to Osricke "You are not ignorant of what excellence Laertes is at his weapon") — This passage was cut when the Euphuistic fashion was on the wane, or had died out altogether, so that the wit of the conversation had lost its actuality; or it is a concession to the ignorance of the audience.

17.

V. 2. 159—60. A concession to the audience, who cannot be supposed to understand this scholarly allusion.



18.

V. 2. 201—216 (Hamlet's talk with the Lord). Left out because it is superfluous. Hamlet has promised to play. Why ask him a second time?

From these significant cuts we may conclude that the First Folio-text of *Hamlet* was set up from a copy of  $Q_2$  which bore the marks of having been used in the playhouse as a prompt-copy. A further conclusion is, that most of these eighteen cuts were made by a very judicious hand, by a man who knew the business of the stage as well as his audience, who bettered the play as a stage-play by his cuts, and who had the courage to sacrifice the purple patch of the soliloquy "How all occasions do inform against me" for the benefit of the whole. Is it too much if we say that this man was Shakespeare?

E. Passages of the Folio, not in  $Q_2$ .

1.

II. 2. 246—278 (on Denmark being a prison, etc.).  $Q_2$  has :

Ham. Then is Doomes day neere, *but* your news is not true ;  
*but* in the beaten way of friendship, what make you at Elsonoure ?

The awkward two *buts* suggest that the passage was cut from Shakespeare's manuscript ; <sup>1)</sup> afterwards it was added again to the printed  $Q_2$  prompt-copy, and so found its way into the Folio. If it was not for the two *buts* we might consider the passage an interpolation, from the hand of Shakespeare, that is. The odds are against this view, as we cannot think of any possible reason why Shakespeare should have lengthened this scene afterwards, and besides the passage fits in so admirably in the rest of the scene, is so homogeneous

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<sup>1)</sup> I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr. Tanager's article quoted above.

with it, that nobody would consider it an interpolation who was ignorant of the Quarto.<sup>1)</sup>

2.

II. 2. 355—383 (on the child-actors).

This cut is of the same nature as the preceding. There is no such clear indication of its being a cut from the MS. as was there afforded by the two *buts*, but we have here Rosencrans's meagre reply to Hamlet's eager questions: "No indeede are they not" (line 354); and Hamlet's speech beginning: "It is not very strange" seems very inappropriate in Q<sub>2</sub>.

I think both passages were left out when Shakespeare went to press for Q<sub>2</sub>, out of deference for King James's Queen who was a Danish princess, and whose first entrance into the city had been welcomed with general festivities (Danish marches!) shortly before. The Queen became the protectress of the child-actors who were henceforward known as the Queen's Majesty's Children, and it would seem unbecoming in "his Highnesse servants" as Shakespeare's company was called from 1603, to rail at the "Queen's Children".<sup>2)</sup> Afterwards, when royal susceptibility was not so keen, the passages were inserted in the copy of Q<sub>2</sub> that

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<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Furnivall, *Forewords to Griggs' facsimile of Q<sub>2</sub>*: "I take this to be an *omission* on the part of Q<sub>2</sub>, but I can't prove it. Hamlet compares Denmark to a prison, etc. It seems all one with the rest of the discourse between him and *Ros.* and *Guil.*"

<sup>2)</sup> Furnivall, *Forewords*: "The chief passage in question is that about the child-actors. And I say that the words in Q<sub>1</sub> may fairly be taken to represent the shortly-express opinion of Shakspeare when the child-actor nuisance (as he and his company would think it) was in its early stage in 1601-2. By 1604 it had developept; a license had been granted to a new set, the Queen's Revels' children, to play at the Blackfriars, 'twas adding insult to injury to have them there, — and Shakespeare accordingly, in 1604, broke out into the long and special complaint printed in the Folio of 1623, but written, I believe, for the revisd text of 1604, tho left out of the print of it by design or accident." And in a footnote Furnivall added: "I believe in the design, as, the Children being the Queen's, the King's Players might well not wish their cuts at their rivals to be in print."

was used to prompt from, and this prompt-copy it was from which the Folio was set up.

3.

V. 2. 68—80 ("the interim is mine")

This passage was, I think, accidentally left out in preparing Q<sub>2</sub> for the press. Hamlet's speech, as it is in Q<sub>2</sub>, ends too abruptly; he should do more than merely state the justice of his revenge, he should urge himself on to the deed, as he does on other occasions. Compare for instance V. 2. 64 :

He that hath kill'd my King and whored my mother,  
with the line of the soliloquy "How all occasions do inform  
against me":

How stand I then  
That have a father kill'd, a mother stain'd (IV. 4. 57)

As in the latter case the speech winds up with :

Oh, from this time forth,  
My thoughts be bloody, or be nothing worth!

it is necessary for line V. 2. 64 to be followed up by :

To quit him with this arm (V. 2. 68)

as it is in the Folio. I conclude therefore that the MS. had this speech as the Folio gives it. Hamlet's other speech (V. 2. 73—79) about his desire to be reconciled to Laertes is necessary to prepare us for his apologies to Laertes in V. 2. 237—254.

Therefore the whole passage V. 2. 68—80 formed part of Shakespeare's MS. and was accidentally left out.<sup>1)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Anybody who is at all acquainted with type-setting knows that such omissions happen very easily. Furnivall arrives at the same conclusion (p. XIX): "Thirteen lines absent. Hamlet is made thereby to break his speech in the middle of a sentence, so that the first part becomes meaningless. As this part then — lines 68—70 can only be accounted for as an accidental *omission* on the part of Q<sub>1</sub>, so may all the other absent lines — 71 to 80 of this passage."

4.

III. 4. 5. *Ham. within.* Mother, mother, mother.

This line may have been accidentally left out from  $Q_3$ , or was afterwards suggested by the Queen's words in line 7: "I heare him comming," and then added to the prompt-copy. The same applies to:

IV. 2. 2. *Gentlemen within.* Hamlet, Lord Hamlet.

The other passages of  $F_1$  which are wanting in  $Q_2$  are all accidental omissions. They were corrected in the prompt-copy and so got into the Folio.

5.

II. 2. 217/18. Lines accidentally left out, the compositor mistaking the second *him* for the first, a mistake frequent in type-setting.

6.

II. 2. 340/41. "The Clowne shall make those laugh whose lungs are tickled a 'th' sere". (Accidental omission.) <sup>1)</sup>

7.

III. 2. 123/4. *Ham.* "I meane, my Head upon your Lap. *Ophe.* I my Lord". (Accidentally omitted from  $Q_2$ ).

8.

III. 2. 280. The line "What, frightened with false fire" was accidentally dropped.

9.

IV. 2. 33. "Hide Fox, and all after". Furnivall gives this line among the accidental omissions.

10.

IV. 5. 160—162. "Nature is fine in Loue" etc. (Accidentally omitted from  $Q_2$ ).

11.

V. 1. 37—40. The compositor's eye caught the second *armes* instead of the first, a common mistake.

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<sup>1)</sup> Furnivall, who calls the leaving out of a line "an often-happening accident", gives this line.



12.

V. 1. 115/16. Accidental omission from  $Q_2$ .

13.

V. 2. 251. "Sir in this audience" — (see below under F. 3.)

14.

V. 2. 57. Afterwards added, to justify the destruction of Rosencrans and Guyldensterne.

## F. Actors' Interpolations and Alterations.

1.

II. 1. 52—53. ( $F_1$ ):

At closes in the consequence:

*At friend, or so, and Gentleman.*

*Polon.* At closes in the consequence, I marry.

The italicized line is not in  $Q_2$ . Polonius' sentence proves that the  $Q_2$  reading is the correct one. I consider this extra-line an actor's interpolation which found its way into the prompt-copy. It is, however, possible that the compositor is to blame for this. He may have looked at the earlier "He closes with you in this consequence", which is followed by a line somewhat similar to this extra-line of the Folio.

2.

II. 2. 54. ( $Q_2$ ):

He tells me *my deere Gertrard* he hath found

( $F_1$ ):

He tells me *my sweet Queene that* he hath found

This is an actor's alteration.

3.

II. 2. 620. ( $F_1$ ): *Oh Vengeance!* This is a beautiful interpolation. Perhaps it was accidentally omitted from  $Q_2$  and afterwards restored.

4.

III. 3. 79. ( $Q_2$ ):

Why this is *base and silly*, not reuendge

( $F_1$ ):

Oh this is *hyre and Sallery*, not Reuenge.

This may be an actor's alteration, but it seems more probable that Shakespeare himself is responsible for the modification.

5.

V. 1. 67. (Q<sub>2</sub>): Goe, get thee in.

(F<sub>1</sub>): Go, get thee *to Yaughan*.

This may have been a stage-joke. "Yaughan's" was perhaps a public-house in the neighbourhood of the theatre.

6.

V. 2. 251. (F<sub>1</sub>): Sir, in this audience,

— a rhetorical apostrophe, not in Q<sub>2</sub>.

7.

V. 2. 369. (F<sub>1</sub>):

The rest is silence. *O, o, o, o.*

The four o's are not in Q<sub>2</sub>; they are certainly a most tasteless actor's interpolation.

8.

To these actors' interpolations might be added the numerous cases in which the Folio doubles an emotional word. These repetitions are very frequent in the Hamlet-part, which can only be explained by assuming that the actor (R. Burbage) who played this part, was fond of this trick. Here follows a complete list. The words in italics are not in Q<sub>2</sub>.

I. 2. 132. O God! *O* God!

I. 2. 135. Fie on't! Oh fie, *fie*.

I. 2. 224. Indeed, *indeed* Sirs; but this troubles me.

I. 2. 236. Very like, *very like*. Stay'd it long?

I. 4. 45. King, Father, Royall Dane: Oh, *oh*, answer me.

(Observe that the second *oh* breaks the metre!)

I. 5. 29. Hast, *hast* me to know it.

I. 5. 104. Yes, *yes*, by Heauen:

I. 5. 107. My Tables, *my Tables*; meet it is I set it downe,

II. 2. 174. Excellent, *excellent* well

III. 1. 91. I humbly thank you: well, *well, well*.

- III. 2. 193. (F<sub>1</sub>): Ham. Wormwood, *wormwood*.  
(Q<sub>2</sub>): Ham. That's wormwood. <sup>1)</sup>

The opposite, repetition in Q<sub>2</sub> and not in F<sub>1</sub>, occurs three times in the Hamlet-part, (the words in italics are not in the Folio):

- I. 5. 93. Oh, fie! Hold, *hold* my heart.  
I. 5. 176. As well *well* we know.  
II. 2. 223. except my life, *except my life*, *except my life*.

The dropping of the italicized words in the Folio may be owing to the printer.

9.

That the actors made alterations in obedience to King James's Act of 1606 against the use of profane language on the stage, seems to be evident from the following variants. In each case a profane expression in Q<sub>2</sub> is replaced by a tamer one in F<sub>1</sub>.

- I. 2. 150. (Q<sub>2</sub>) O *God*. (F<sub>1</sub>) O *Heauen*.  
I. 2. 195. (Q<sub>2</sub>) For *Gods* loue let me heere.  
(F<sub>1</sub>) For *Heauens* loue let me heere.  
II. 2. 114. (Q<sub>2</sub>) *By heauen*, it is as proper to our age  
(F<sub>1</sub>) *It seems*, it is as proper to our age  
II. 2. 614. (Q<sub>2</sub>) *S'wounds*, I should take it:  
(F<sub>1</sub>) *Why*, I should take it:  
III. 3. 388. (Q<sub>2</sub>) *s'bloud* do you thinke  
(F<sub>1</sub>) *Why* do you thinke  
V. 1. 296. (Q<sub>2</sub>) *S'wounds*, show me.  
(F<sub>1</sub>) *Come*, show me.

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<sup>1)</sup> This may add a significant touch to Prof. Bradley's observation (*Shakespearean Tragedy* pp. 148/9). Though I consider these cases of repetition Burbage's interpolation, many more remain in Q<sub>2</sub> for which Shakespeare himself must be held responsible, and which, as Prof. Bradley says, are very characteristic of Hamlet. We are tempted to ask: had Shakespeare this trick of Burbage's in mind when writing Hamlet? Or may we go further and say that Richard Burbage, the actor, was Hamlet's prototype? The Prince of Denmark's love of the stage would then appear in a new light.

G. Evidence of stage-practice preserved  
in the Folio.

F<sub>1</sub> requires fewer actors than Q<sub>2</sub>. This appears from many stage-directions. The Folio has *one* player with a recorder, *one* sailor bringing letters, *one* ambassador; the Quarto two with recorders, two sailors, two English ambassadors. This was no doubt practical stage-economy which was fixed in the prompt-copy, and so got into F<sub>1</sub>. That sometimes the text was maimed in order to spare an actor, appears from IV. 5, first part.

Q<sub>2</sub>. *Enter Horatio, Gertrard, and a gentleman.*

F<sub>1</sub>. *Enter Queene and Horatio.*

The scene as it is in the Quarto has two peculiarities which are easily explained. In the first place the stage-direction deviates from the order of precedence, usually observed by Shakespeare, in naming Horatio before the queen. It seems to me that Shakespeare in writing this scene, originally meant it as a conversation between the queen and the gentleman, (this would agree with Hamlet's evident ignorance of Ophelia's madness in V. 1., although he has spoken with Horatio). When he came to the words "Twere good she were spoken with" (IV. 5. 14) the dramatist saw that here another speaker ought to begin, and therefore hastily added Horatio's name to the opening of the scene, thus neglecting the usual order of precedence.

The other difficulty in the text of Q<sub>2</sub> is line 16, which is very inappropriate in Horatio's mouth. This line should be pronounced by the Queen. The only thing that need be done to restore this reading is placing the rubric *Quee.* of line 17 one line higher. The Quarto-printer must be held responsible for this mistake.<sup>1)</sup>

The Folio has the same lines in this scene, only the

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<sup>1)</sup> When I had come to this conclusion, I saw that the "Arden" Editor (Prof. Dowden) following a conjecture of Blackstone, had already made this arrangement.



“gentleman” is wanting. His speeches are spoken by Horatio, and Horatio’s lines :

(14) Twere good she were spoken with for shee may strew

(15) Dangerous coniectures in ill breeding mindes,  
Let her come in.

are spoken by the Queen.

In this way an actor was spared, a new speaker began at “Twere good she were spoken with”, and the Queen spoke the words “Let her come in”. Grant White <sup>1)</sup> applauded the transference of lines 14, 15 (“Twere good” etc.) from Horatio to the Queen. I prefer the Q<sub>2</sub> arrangement, not only because of the strange inconsistency with Hamlet’s ignorance of Ophelia’s madness in V. 1. but also because I think lines 14, 15 do not fit so well in the mouth of the Queen.

This scene was discussed bij Tanger in *Anglia* IV. (art. quoted above). He came to the conclusion that the scene was originally written for the Queen and the gentleman, but that Shakespeare at the request of the players gave the part of the gentleman to Horatio, to spare an actor. It seems that Tanger thinks the scene was originally written for two persons. I think there is sufficient evidence to say that it was written for three.

## H. Heminge and Condell’s Editorial Criticism. <sup>2)</sup>

The punctuation <sup>3)</sup> of the Folio is much heavier than that of Q<sub>2</sub>. Here follows a comparison between the Quarto and the Folio. The speeches selected for comparison were taken at random.

<sup>1)</sup> Quoted by Furness, I. p. 327.

<sup>2)</sup> For the punctuation and the emphasis capitals I refer the reader to Mr. Percy Simpson’s *Shakespearian Punctuation*, Oxford, 1911; for the spelling of the Folio to A. Lummert: *Die Orthographie der ersten Folioausgabe der Shakespeareschen Dramen*, Halle, 1883; for the editing and printing to Mr. A. W. Pollard’s *Folios and Quartos*, London, Methuen, 1909, and to Sir Sidney Lee’s Introduction to the *Oxford Facsimile of the First Folio*, 1902.

<sup>3)</sup> The spelling of the Folio does not come within the scope of the present treatise.

1.

I. 2. 1—39. (The King's speech: "Though yet of Hamlet", etc.).

Q<sub>2</sub> has 25 commas, 4 colons, 1 semicolon, 1 full stop at the end of the speech. F<sub>1</sub> has 32 commas, 5 colons, 3 semicolons, 6 full stops.

2.

I. 2. 87—117. (The King's speech to Hamlet: "Tis sweet and commendable".)

Q<sub>3</sub> has 28 commas, 1 colon, 1 full stop at the end.

F<sub>1</sub> has 33 commas, 3 colons, 1 semicolon, 5 full stops, 1 mark of interrogation.

3.

I. 2. 129—159. (Hamlet's soliloquy: "O that this too too sallied flesh would melt")

Q<sub>2</sub> has 34 commas, 1 mark of exclamation, 1 semi-colon, 1 full stop at the end. F<sub>1</sub> has 26 commas, 8 colons, 2 semicolons, 10 full stops, 5 marks of exclamation.

The Folio is peppered with capitals, which properly serve for rhetorical emphasis. The Quarto has but few capitals and they do not serve for emphasis.

1.

I. 2. 1—39. Q<sub>2</sub> has 13 capitals (the word Kingdom and proper names) F<sub>1</sub> has 47 capitals (those of Q<sub>2</sub>, besides such words as Discretion, Nature, Auspicious, Dropping, which in Heminge and Condell's opinion called for rhetorical emphasis.

2.

I. 2. 87—117. Q<sub>2</sub> has 2 capitals (Hamlet, Wittenberg); F<sub>1</sub> has 38 (!) capitals.

3.

I. 2. 129—159. Q<sub>2</sub> has 7 capitals (God, God, King, Niobe, God, Uncle, Hercules); F<sub>1</sub> has 36 capitals (Everlasting, Selfe-slaughter, Month, etc.).

4.

I. 3. 55—81. (Polonius : Yet heere, Laertes? Aboord, aboard for shame.)  $Q_2$  has 2 capitals (Laertes, Fraunce);  $F_1$  has 16 capitals.

5.

I. 3. 115—135. (Pol. I springs to catch wood-cockes) :  $Q_2$  has 5 capitals,  $F_1$  has 19 capitals.

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The preceding pages show, I think, that Mr. Pollard's general hypotheses, when applied to the special case of the Second Quarto and the First Folio of *Hamlet*, account for all the differences between these two texts. We saw in Sections A and B that the Quarto bears distinct traces of having been set up from the author's manuscript. In Section D it was shown that all the passages of  $Q_2$  which cannot be found in  $F_1$  may be accounted for as intentional or accidental omissions; that the intentional omissions were made to shorten the piece or to better it, and that the others are such as are common to all type-setting. The cuts were made by a judicial hand, probably Shakespeare's. Of those passages which the Folio has in addition to the Quarto (Section E) most are accidental omissions from the Quarto, two were left out of the latter text for political reasons. A small proportion of the additions may be ascribed to the criticism of the actors (Section F), the frequent doubling of emotional words in the Hamlet-part being one of the most characteristic instances of actors' interpolation. This feature, which Prof. Bradley ascribed to Shakespeare, must in my opinion be considered as an indication of Burbage's conception of the Hamlet-part, although, seeing the large number of repetitions in  $Q_2$  Shakespeare's original characterization comes in for its share too. That the Folio was set up from the Quarto is further evident from such a curious instance of continuation of error, as was quoted in Section A. 6, as also from the evidence

of stage-practice preserved in the Folio, which can have no other source than the copy of the Quarto which was used at the theatre to prompt from. This theory also gives an unstrained explanation of the other points of difference and resemblance between the two texts. The Folio editors used this prompt-copy to print the Folio *Hamlet* from, after they had modified the stage-directions, altered the spelling according to their views, and added numerous emphasis capitals and marks of punctuation, according to a rhetorical standard which was not Shakespeare's.

It is interesting to compare the eighteen cases of Section D with the fourteen of Section E. Two of the passages of  $Q_2$  which cannot be found in  $F_1$  (Section D, numbers 6 and 11) were omitted through the negligence of the Folio printer. The other sixteen cases of Section D bear the distinct marks of being cuts made on purpose by a theatrical manager. On the other hand the cases of Section F, with the exception of numbers 1 and 2 are all accidental omissions from  $Q_2$ . Numbers 1 and 2 were intentionally left out from  $Q_2$ , but not for a theatrical purpose.<sup>1)</sup>  $F_1$ , therefore, is of great importance for the restoration of the original text. If, by inserting in  $Q_2$  all the fourteen passages of Section E, we have restored the original play as it was written by Shakespeare and handed by him to the players, we have still to consider whether the passages which  $Q_2$  has more than  $F_1$  (Section D) are allowed to appear in a standard text. It may

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<sup>1)</sup> Furnivall, *Forewords* to  $Q_2$ , p. V. "That most, if not all, of the omissions of  $Q_2$  were accidental, and due to the copier or printer, is certain in some cases, and almost certain or probable in all. That the most important omissions from the Folio were due to cuts, made either by Shakespeare or his fellow-actors, is certain from the nature of them. The play was very long, and the philosophizings of Hamlet on Drunkenness and Custom, of Claudius on Delay, of Horatio on Apparitions, would naturally be cut out; while the stage-difficulty of bringing Fortinbras and his army in in IV. 4 is so great, that no modern manager will try it. And even if the army were but "four or five most vile and ragged foils" in Shakspeare's day, the manager of his company may well have thought that a fourth Soliloquy from Hamlet was too much of a good thing for an impatient public accustomed to plays lasting for two hours or a little more."



with good ground be argued, that Shakespeare has sanctioned these cuts, so that we have to accept what must be considered as the master's own corrections. We have, however, no absolute authority for these corrections. It is of course more probable that the corrections were made at some time between 1605 and 1611, (the year when Shakespeare left London), than that we must assign them to the years between 1611 and 1623, if only for the simple reason that a play is more likely to undergo changes in the first years of its being played, than in the later. Besides, some of the cuts, especially those in the King's part, seem to have been made by the author. But if anybody chooses to deny the authenticity of the sixteen cuts of Section D, nobody can convince him of error. Then there is another argument against the striking of these passages from our ideal text. Shakespeare and his fellows may have sacrificed the great soliloquy "How all occasions do inform against me" to the interests of stage-representation, we cannot afford to do without it. Besides, our task is a different one from the Globe-manager's. So there is sufficient ground to retain both the passages of Section D and those of Section E.

In constructing our standard-text we may take as our basis the Quarto or the Folio. I think, after all that has been said, it is hardly necessary to assert explicitly that the groundwork of a text-edition should be the Quarto of 1604.<sup>1)</sup> The only merit of the Folio is that it enables us to supplement and correct the Quarto. The demerits of the Folio are obvious. The spelling, including the emphasis-capitals, is not Shakespeare's; the punctuation is not Shakespeare's; the stage-directions are not the author's; it lacks sixteen authentic passages; it contains actor's interpolations and alterations, some of them tasteless enough. The Quarto on the other

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<sup>1)</sup> Furnivall, *Forewords* to Q<sub>2</sub>, p. V: "That Quarto 2 of Hamlet is more important than Folio 1, both for the character of Hamlet and the play itself, is a fact that does not admit of question. Follows that it best represents Shakspeare's original — which I suppose to be a revision of the first sketch of his Hamlet misrepresented by Quarto 1, 1603.

hand is pure Shakespeare, it is incorrect in places and it is incomplete, but these defects are easily mended. If it contains passages which Shakespeare afterwards rejected, these passages are his at any rate. No irreverent actor or editor tampered with its text. So that it cannot be doubtful which of the two texts is to be preferred.

The completion of  $Q_2$  by the Folio is pure gain. The leaving out of those passages which the Folio lacks is, in one case certain, in most of the others possible loss. In any case the absolute authority, necessary, for leaving them out is wanting. On the other hand there is a probability that some of these cuts were made by Shakespeare in the interest of his play, as I have tried to show. Therefore it will not do to ignore them altogether. So the best plan is, I think, to include these passages in the text, but to print them in different type, so that anybody may see at once which are the lines that Shakespeare probably meant to be struck from the play.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### The Relation between the Quarto of 1603 ( $Q_1$ ) and that of 1604 ( $Q_2$ ).

The First Quarto has 2,143 lines, the Second 3,179 lines. There is a great difference between the two quartos, not only in quantity, but also in words and phrases, and even in the characters and in the order of the scenes and speeches. The relation between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  is a puzzle unsolved as yet. The following pages do not pretend to bring the solution of the problem. They have, however, the pretension of adding a little stone to the building of criticism which is slowly rising, and which, some day, will certainly be "whole and perfect of its limbs."

Up till recent years critics thought they were bound to one of two alternatives. Either  $Q_1$  was a "first sketch" of the complete play as we have it in  $Q_2$ , or it was a "mutilation" of the perfect play. In the former case the two printed texts were derived from two different manuscripts; in the latter there was but one manuscript, viz. the one underlying  $Q_2$ . All critics, both those of the "mutilation" and those of the "first sketch" theory, agreed that  $Q_1$  was more or less piratical, that is to say it was published without the consent of the players to whom the play belonged, and it was corrupted in the process. I shall first give a survey of the

#### First Sketch or Revision Theory.

Singer, who published  $Q_1$  in 1826/56, considered  $Q_2$  as a later revision; so did Caldecott in 1832. Knight, who lays stress on the corruption of  $Q_1$ , calls it a first sketch, afterwards altered and enlarged. Delius agrees with Knight, and thinks that "N. L." and John Trundell published this first sketch fraudulently. He does not say, however, how

the publishers got their copy. Elze (1857) considers  $Q_2$  as the last version,  $Q_1$  as the next to the last; Timmins and Staunton also consider  $Q_1$  as a first sketch, Gervinus follows Knight. Dyce thinks that  $Q_1$  exhibits a form of the tragedy different from  $Q_2$  and  $F_1$ ; perhaps it was taken down in shorthand during representation.<sup>1)</sup>

Prof. C. H. Herford, (1880)<sup>2)</sup> thinks the original of  $Q_1$  was at least as different from  $Q_2$  as from  $Q_1$  itself.  $Q_1$  is a pirated edition of a play by Shakespeare which was grounded on an old play. This Shakespearean play was written shortly before 1602, so that the entry in the *Stationers' Registers* (1602) may refer to this play. The actors resented the extremely imperfect manner of its production and then published the true *Hamlet* in 1604, after Shakespeare had used the opportunity to thoroughly revise the play, altering certain names, adding to it, and leaving out passages, and bettering the play on the dramatical and poetical side. According to Prof. Herford (a) almost all of Act I of  $Q_1$ , and many lines and passages throughout the play are by Shakespeare in his maturity; (b) "there is much which, though hardly the work of his ripened genius, is such as he might fairly leave intact in a hasty revision: a little of it possibly his own early work, most the work apparently of some minor but respectable poet"; (c) some parts are so bad that Shakespeare cannot be held responsible for them.

Mr. W. H. Widgey<sup>3)</sup> noticed some curious instances of agreement between the German play *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and  $Q_1$ , and derived both from a common ancestor, considering *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* as the elder of the two brothers. This common ancestor is Kyd's play (*Ur-Hamlet*). — Some scenes and passages of  $Q_2$  seem to have been cut up and distributed in a different manner over  $Q_1$ . This seems to indicate that  $Q_1$  was a different piece from  $Q_2$ , and that

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<sup>1)</sup> All these authors are quoted by Furness — *Variorum-Hamlet*, II. p. 14 ff.

<sup>2)</sup> *Harness Prize Essay*, London, 1880.



the play was afterwards revised by Shakespeare. Widgery thinks that the more poetical phrasing of some passages in  $Q_2$  also points in this direction. He thinks the piece was taken down in the theatre by a reporter, who may have had a helper, probably the actor who played Voltimand and the Player King, who supplied him with an exact copy of his part.

Dr. F. J. Furnivall<sup>1)</sup> contends that  $Q_1$  (which may be derived from an older play, not by Shakespeare) represents Shakespeare's first cast of the play. It is a piracy, due to shorthand-writers, with possibly some parts bought or got from some of the players. He does not think  $Q_1$  had an editor who revised the notes and parts handed over to him. (Cf. Tanger, below.) Going from  $Q_1$  to  $Q_3$  there is development of character which can only be due to revision of the play by the author. — In another place Dr. Furnivall observes that the work of Shakespeare in  $Q_1$  is only mixed "with that of the several reporters from whose notes or fancies  $Q_1$  was got together. The conception of Hamlet is essentially one of Shakespeare's Third Period. Before 1601/2 the subject would not have taken real hold of him. When it did, he (in my belief) wrote his first *Hamlet*, — on his own lines, and not on those of the old Henslowe or "Revenge" Hamlet. — The blurrd image of that first Hamlet we have in  $Q_1$ . The play was acted and laid aside. Then in 1603 came James I with his Danish queen. So a Danish play would have been in place in 1604, after the plague had ceast."<sup>2)</sup>

In 1885-6 Hermann Isaac (H. Conrad) published "Die Hamlet-Periode in Shakespeare's Leben"<sup>3)</sup>

There is a method for the establishment of the authorship of anonymous plays which derives its evidence from phraseological parallels. This method has, among others, been

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<sup>1)</sup> In his *Forewords to Griggs's Facsimile of  $Q_1$* . London, undated.

<sup>2)</sup> *Forewords to Griggs's Facsimile of  $Q_3$* . London, undated.

<sup>3)</sup> A series of articles in *Herrig's Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, vols. 73-75.

successfully applied to the works now ascribed to Kyd. It has also been applied to the First Quarto of *Hamlet*, to establish Kyd's authorship of *Ur-Hamlet*, and to prove that traces of the old play are still to be found in  $Q_1$ . Now it is self-evident that this method must be used with great caution. For the sake of exactness many a parallel which is not absolutely unmistakable has to be rejected. The occurrence of single words which may seem out of the common to a modern critic, can hardly ever establish any connection between two works. But on the understanding that the utmost caution is used this method may have good results. — H. Isaac, however, applies this method not to the establishment of the authorship of some anonymous play, but to support his theory that  $Q_1$  is a first recension of *Hamlet* and  $Q_2$  a second, that Shakespeare worked twice on the *Hamlet*-subject, with an intervening period of two or three (possibly more) years.

Before fixing the dates of  $Q_1$ -*Hamlet* and  $Q_2$ , the author tries to arrive at some certainty as to the dates of some plays. He comes to the following years which I give together with those of Prof. Dowden.<sup>1)</sup> Especially the date of *Troilus and Cressida* presents a conspicuous difference.

	Isaac	Dowden
<i>Troilus</i>	1594-96	1603
<i>As you like it</i>	1596	1599
<i>Much Ado</i>	1595/6	1598
<i>Julius Caesar</i>	1597	1601

To the main argument of this treatise, that  $Q_1$  was composed some years earlier than  $Q_2$ , these differences are of no importance. Having fixed the above dates, Isaac in *Archiv*, vol. 75 tackles the question of the relation between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  of *Hamlet*. He gives 134 parallel places, mostly phraseological parallels, some few referring to parallelism in ideas only, between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ , and earlier and later plays of Shakespeare, and the Sonnets. The conclusion to which

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<sup>1)</sup> *Mind and Art*, Preface to III<sup>rd</sup> and following Editions.

he comes is, that there is evidence that  $Q_1$  has many parallels with early plays and few with later, whereas  $Q_2$  is oftener connected with later plays, especially those passages of  $Q_2$  which are not in  $Q_1$ . Isaac observes explicitly that his reasoning is *not* as follows: earlier plays must not contain parallels to  $Q_2$ , later plays must not contain parallels to  $Q_1$ . For, first, why should not Shakespeare in his later plays repeat thoughts and expressions which he had used in  $Q_1$ , why should not the earlier plays contain parallels with  $Q_2$ ; and secondly, when a passage of  $Q_2$  is wanting in  $Q_1$ , this does not prove that the MS. for  $Q_1$  cannot have contained it, as the First Quarto is corrupt. But the great majority of parallels proves his theory. To fifty parallels between the earlier plays and  $Q_1$ , there are but eleven parallels with the later plays. Passages only to be found in  $Q_2$  are conspicuous by their numerous repetitions in plays of the seventeenth century. In those scenes which have undergone most alteration the greatest number of parallels with the plays of the seventeenth century are to be found. Passages only in  $Q_1$ , which, according to the mutilation-theory, must be ascribed to the pirate, show nevertheless the characteristics of Shakespearean origin.<sup>1)</sup>

There are passages which have throughout different readings in  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ , and for the  $Q_1$  readings parallels can only be found in the earlier plays, for the one of  $Q_2$  only the later plays afford parallels. Isaac thinks  $Q_1$  was written in 1598 at the latest,  $Q_2$  in 1601.

Let us now consider on what basis of evidence this finely spun theory rests. Isaac gives 134 "parallels". Of these 134 passages twenty occur in both  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ , and therefore

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<sup>1)</sup> Such passages will be found in their proper places in the following pages.— Isaac polemises very happily against Tanger, (see "Mutilation-theory") who assumed only one recension of the play, and ascribed all the differences in  $Q_1$  to the reporter. Isaac also assumes the existence of a reporter who took down as much as he could in the theatre, but his man is only a stupid copyist, not a "Proteus" like Tanger's. Like Widgery, Isaac thinks it is possible that the copyist had before him the manuscript of the part of Voltimand, as the ambassador's part in  $Q_1$  is "auffallend korrekt".

have no value for establishing the relation between them ; forty-two parallels connect  $Q_2$  with a play or poem earlier than itself ; forty-nine are weak parallels, sometimes of one word only, which do not deserve to be taken into consideration. There remain at last twenty-three good parallels which connect  $Q_2$  with later plays. It will be seen that the number of parallels between  $Q_2$  and works earlier than itself is almost twice as large as that between  $Q_2$  and the later plays. — With a view to this result, I think we may say that the method stands condemned. So that, whatever may be the value of the statement that  $Q_1$  is a first sketch and  $Q_2$  a revision of the same, it receives no support from this investigation. The weakness of Isaac's argument lies in the unsoundness of the elements of which it is built up. He says himself that he does not depend upon this or that, perhaps accidental parallelism but on the majority of cases. His strength, he thinks, is in his large numbers. But a hundred weak, debatable arguments have not the force of one good, solid piece of conclusive evidence.

The treatise is, however, not without some valuable observations. Isaac observes on the following interesting difference between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  (Haml. II. 1. 118/9) :

$Q_1$  : Let's to the King this madnesse may prove  
Though wild a while, yet more true to thy loue.

$Q_2$  : This must be known, which being kept close, might moue  
More grief to hide, than hate to utter loue.

“der Unterschied der beiden Quartos ist hier, wie überall, dass die  $Q_1$  die Dinge direkt beim Namen nennt, die  $Q_2$  alles feiner, diskreter behandelt, und die Intentionen der Handelnden mehr verschleiert”. Note also the following excellent observation on the place of the “to be or not to be” soliloquy with the nunnery-scene (in  $Q_1$  : II. 2 ; in  $Q_2$  : III. 1.) : “In  $Q_1$  geht Polonius (Corambis) direkt ans Ziel, d.h. zur Hauptprüfung durch Ophelia ; dann versucht er sein Heil beim Prinzen ; in  $Q_2$  verfährt er feiner, zuerst macht er sich an



den Prinzen; dann die Schulfreunde, und da diese Schritte erfolglos ist, spielt er den Haupttrumpf Ophelia aus. Das letztere Arrangement ist scenisch und charakteristisch das Beste."

W. G. C. Bijvanck. "Inleiding tot Shakespeare's  
Hamlet." (Introduction to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*)  
(*De Gids*, 1900, 1901) <sup>1)</sup>

This author does not state clearly what he thinks is the relation between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ , but he assumes more than one version of the play, which is the reason why the article is discussed in this place. According to Bijvanck the First Quarto is a "mixture" of an old and a new form of *Hamlet*, negligently printed and edited. It can never be an object of independent investigation. <sup>2)</sup> Kyd's "Ur-Hamlet" must be dated before 1588, Shakespeare's first revision before 1594, Shakespeare's last revision in 1601-2. The writer does not make a comparison between the various texts of *Hamlet*, but carefully investigates the text of  $Q_2$ , and there discovers several "strata", being guided mainly by his own sense of the fitness of things. Besides, the method is of the strangest. The reader may judge for himself. The author quotes the King's speech of I. 2. "Tis sweet and commendable in your nature, Hamlet" and is struck by the line "This must be so" (I. 2. 106). This, he says, is an interpolation which has taken the place of some sententious phrase, rhyming or quasi-rhyming with the preceding line: "From the first corse till he that died to-day." The "original" version is then restored by taking a line from  $Q_1$ , viz. "None lives on earth, but he is born to die." The critic does not say on what authority he takes this line of all others. But let us be patient. More is to follow. — A careful examination of this speech of Claudius' reveals the interesting fact that it splits up into two parts, which by their ideas and phraseology echo each other. It is true that

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<sup>1)</sup> In the quotations I shall translate the original Dutch into English.

<sup>2)</sup> Query, why not?

the first of these two passages has no winding up, whereas that of the other is the new-found line "None lives on earth but he is born to die." But no matter. What else is  $Q_1$  for, but to supply lines that drop in handy for our argument? Now  $Q_1$  has the line "and so shall be until the general ending". This is interpolated into the  $Q_2$  text after:

"An vnderstanding, simple and vnschoold

For what we knowe must be".

"So we obtain complete doublets (!). — Shakespeare meant the one passage to take the place of the other, but by some inadvertence both were set up in print. And when this had happened, and could no more be altered, the meaningless "This must be so" was interpolated into the corrupt text to make it a little smoother!" (p. 139).

Now all this is sheer bibliographical heresy. The author seems to have felt something of this. He says at least: "I suppose the reader will think this a very curious way of treating the work of the poet." But he is confident that he is on the right track, because the  $Q_2$ -text is full of passages which had been marked for omission. Take, for instance, lines I. 1. 113-125, where the omission from the Folio proves(?) that they were meant to be cut from  $Q_2$ . Lines II. 2. 496 ( $Q_2$ ) and IV. 1. 40 ( $Q_2$ ) were also meant for suppression. The insertion of a meaningless stop-gap is also a common proceeding. The passages I. 3. 120-123 and 127-131 are doublets which should be cut (both?), and "this is for all" serves to fill up the line. Also I. 3. 16 ("but you must fear") seems such a stop-gap between two heterogeneous passages. It was taken from line I. 3. 34. "The most comical eking out of the metre is found in II. 2. 82 ( $Q_2$ )." Speaking of the great scene at court (I. 2. 64), the author says: "In our usual texts Hamlet answers twice. Once will do (!). The second speech ("Not so, my Lord; I am too much i' the sun") be cut. The addition of "my Lord" marks it as old version." — I observe that "my Lord" does not at all mark old version; why should it? I do not think this remarkable method of textual criticism

will find many admirers now. It would seem that we have advanced a good deal since 1901. The most glaring instance of arbitrary criticism is no doubt what follows. Hamlet's soliloquy of III. 3. is quoted:

Now might I do it pat, now he is praying;  
And now I'll do't. And so he goes to heaven;  
And so am I revenged. That would be scand:  
A villain kills my father, and for that,  
I, his sole son, do this same villain send  
To heaven.

"The lines", says the critic, "are easily reduced to four lines rhyming alternately, and thereby prove to me that they belong to the primitive Hamlet-play. Then they run:

Now is he praying, now might I do it pat;  
And so he goes to heaven! That would be scand:  
A villain kills my father, and for that,  
I his sole son, to heaven this villain send.

Surely Thomas Kyd knew better than to rhyme *scand* with *send*! Is this the way to restore an old version? Was this Shakespeare's method of revision? I think we may say that this article cannot be considered a serious contribution to our knowledge of Shakespeare's text.

I shall now pass in review the authors who are in favour of the

### Mutilation Theory.

The supporters of this theory hold, that  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  represent the same version, the differences between the two editions showing, not the growth of Shakespeare's mind and art, but the carelessness or incompetence of short-hand writers, transcribers and printers.

J. P. Collier<sup>1)</sup> was the first to hold this view. It was his opinion that great part of the play was taken down in short-hand during representation. Where the short-hand writer could not write fast enough, he filled up the blanks from memory, or was assisted by an inferior writer. Collier

<sup>1)</sup> Quoted by Furness, vol. II. p. 14 and following pages.

admits, however, that the play which was thus taken down may not have been identical with  $Q_2$  in all its details.

Tycho Mommsen, (1857)<sup>1)</sup> also thinks  $Q_1$  is a misrepresentation of the genuine text. This author discovers two hands at work upon  $Q_1$ . One is an actor who makes mistakes of the ear. The other is a bookseller's hack who botches up the verse. The differences between the characters of  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ , which Mommsen recognizes, he ascribes to the incompleteness of the notes taken by the reporter (who was one of the actors) and botched up by the bookseller's hack. He distinguishes various kinds of corruption: prose instead of verse; want of the usual Shakespearean metaphors; dull, coarse, even vulgar expressions; blunders with regard to scansion and metre; and observes that coincidences of these blunders are mainly to be met with in those lines and passages which serve to connect pieces of the genuine text (the ligatures).

Grant White<sup>1)</sup>. The comparative brevity of  $Q_1$  is caused by sheer mutilation. A reporter took notes during performance and worked them out at home. The mark of the pirate is to be seen in such expressions as "for to", "when as", "where as", which Shakespeare avoids. The two soliloquies "O that this too too sallied flesh", and "to be or not to be" are in  $Q_1$  curiously distorted, but nearly all the ideas are there, and those which are not there, were simply omitted by the reporter. The passages lacking in  $Q_2$  which are both in  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  "go to show that the surreptitious text of 1603 and the authentic text of twenty years later had a common origin". This author, who has the great gift of seeing both sides of the question, admits that the arrangement of the scenes not being the same in the two quartos, favours the supposition that the play was recast after its first production. He contends however, that the order of the earliest edition in these cases is mere disorder (!), owing to the pirate's incompetence to arrange his material properly. — There are,

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<sup>1)</sup> Quoted by Furness, vol. II. p. 14 and following pages.



however, as Grant White observes, two features of  $Q_1$  which form the gravest objection against his (mutilation-)theory. They are: (a) the names Corambis-Montano, and (b) the existence of a scene between Horatio and the Queen, succeeding that of Ophelia's madness, which has no counterpart in  $Q_2$ . This scene presents no confusion or mutilation, but there is "heaviness of form, emptiness of matter . . . . Shakespeare never wrote this feeble stuff: it is an interpolation (!)" "It seems rather a remnant of a previous play on the same subject." — Grant White thinks that the old play on Hamlet belonged from the first to the Lord Chamberlain's men (Shakespeare's company) as they played a *Hamlet* in 1594 (Henslowe) and again in 1602. The *players* (it was they and not the poet, as the clumsy way in which it was done, testifies) shortened Shakespeare's play, and they omitted Hamlet's long discursive relation to Horatio of his stratagem against Rosencrans and Guildensterne, and as the story must be told, introduced the short scene between Horatio and the Queen from the old play. The two names from the old play Shakespeare retained at first, but then he published his own play in 1604 ( $Q_2$ ) and eliminated even the slightest traces of the previous drama (!)

The Cambridge Editors (W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright)<sup>1)</sup> first thought the manuscript for  $Q_1$  was compiled from short-hand notes taken during performance. The defects in this manuscript were, in part at least, supplemented by a reference to the authentic copy in the library of the theatre, which dishonest work was done by an inferior actor or servant. The chief differences between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  are only such as might be expected between a bona fide and a mala fide transcription. — Clark and Wright modified their views of the origin of  $Q_1$  in their preface to "Hamlet" (Clarendon Press Series). Still holding in the main to their old opinion, they admit that there are differences between

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<sup>1)</sup> Quoted by Furness, vol. II.

the two quartos which cannot be explained by the carelessness of short-hand writer, copyist or printer. With some diffidence they now give the following explanation: there was an old play on the subject of Hamlet, some portions of which are preserved in  $Q_1$ ; about the year 1602 Shakespeare took this and began to remodel it for the stage;  $Q_1$  represents the play after it had been retouched by him to a certain extent, but before his alterations were complete; and that in  $Q_2$  we have for the first time the *Hamlet* of Shakespeare. — This theory accounts for the names Corambis, Montano, and for the place of the “to be or not to be” soliloquy with the nunnery scene attached to it, which in  $Q_1$  is introduced in the middle of II. 2, in  $Q_2$  in III. 1. It also explains the differences in the characters, especially the Queen’s. In the earlier form, it appears to the Cambridge Editors that Shakespeare’s modifications of the play had not gone much beyond the Second Act. They conclude by stating that a close examination of  $Q_1$  will convince any one, that it contains some of Shakespeare’s undoubted work, mixed with a great deal that is not his, and will confirm their theory, that the text, imperfect as it is, represents an older play in a transition state, while it was undergoing a remodelling, but had not received more than the first rough touches of the great master’s hand.”

From this it appears, that Clark and Wright’s final opinion is that  $Q_1$  was indeed a mutilation, but not of the text that we have in  $Q_2$  but of an earlier recension. This implies that the Cambridge Editors now recognized two different Shakespearean versions, and therefore had gone over to the “Revision” theory.

G. Tanger: *The First and Second Quartos and the First Folio of Hamlet. Their relation to each other* (1880).<sup>1)</sup>

Tanger tries to prove that  $Q_1$  is a mangled and corrupted version of the perfect tragedy ( $Q_2$ ) in the abridged form in which it was acted in 1603. This critic is convinced of the

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<sup>1)</sup> *The New Shakespeare Society’s Transactions*, 1880—82.

existence of a reporter whom he calls X. In the course of his demonstration he is forced to give this X a helper. The great differences between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  in the later acts are cheerfully explained by the pleasant fancy "that the interest of the plot, coupled with the increasing tiredness which X and his helper very naturally were seized with, together perhaps with some *gêne* or other in the theatre, induced X and his friend to note down less than they had done during the first two acts." The curious differences in the order of the lines of a long speech, or in the succession of a number of short speeches in a dialogue, which form a grave objection against the mutilation theory, are explained away by X's beautiful principle: to use as many of his notes as possible, though often in the wrong places. To the objection that  $Q_1$  is very Shakespearean in tone, even in those places which are greatly different from  $Q_2$ , Tanger replies, "that X, meddling so much with Shakespearean phrases, could not help acquiring as much of 'the tune and outward habit' of Shakespeare as we find in every caricature". I may observe that these many years I have been meddling with Shakespearean phrases rather much myself, but so far I have not been able to acquire much of "the tune" of the Swan of Avon. Tanger even goes the length of saying that at some distance from the stage X might mishear *Corambis* for *Polonius* (both names having an o in the first syllable, which is followed in both words by a liquid, while the second syllable of both names ends in a nasal sound(!)).

This reporter X is at once responsible for the most senseless botchings and philistine phrases, and for very happy paraphrases and interpolations. He is stupid or clever, as it serves the critic's turn. The fact (an ugly one for any supporter of the piracy-theory) that the same firm which published  $Q_2$  also published  $Q_1$ , is explained away by quietly assuming that Ling and Trundell were taken in by X. The publishers did not know what wretched mutilation of the authentic text they possessed in X's *Hamlet*. Afterwards when good Nicholas

Ling discovered his blunder, he made amends by publishing the genuine text (!). — As is well-known, the characters of  $Q_1$  are ruder, simpler, than those of  $Q_2$ . This is, according to Tanger, the natural consequence of the coarse treatment of the text by X. (As if such treatment would not much sooner result in nonsense!)

If ever a supporter of the mutilation-theory harmed his cause by protesting too much, it is Tanger.

During the discussion which followed the reading of this paper before the New Shakespeare Society, Dr. Furnivall said: "the way in which Dr. Tanger jumps the fences in the way of his theory excites my wonder. But it's steeple-chasing, rather than steady going in the path of criticism. If Corambis and Montano are but mishearings of Polonius and Reynaldo, if the Shakspearean "cinkapase of ieasts", "warne clowne", "foh, how the muske-cod smells", etc. are due only to the X who has given us the inanities of  $Q_1$ , *then anything may be anything else, at the critic's will*. That theory will be finally adopted, which in the common sense of most real workers *reconciles most difficulties*." — Mr. C. H. Herford thought that  $Q_1$  clearly contained lines that were beyond X, and that necessitated another original than  $Q_2$ .

W. Creizenach. — The agreement of the German play *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* with  $Q_1$  on the one hand, and with  $Q_2$  on the other, led Creizenach in his "Die Tragödie 'Der Bestrafte Brudermord' und ihre Bedeutung für die Kritik des Shakespeareschen Hamlet" <sup>1)</sup> (1887) to the assumption of a lost text (Y), which combined the characteristics of both  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ . Though he did not commit himself to this opinion absolutely, Creizenach was inclined to think that this (Y) was a stage-text, adapted from  $Q_2$ , which stage-text was pirated and so gave us  $Q_1$ . — In the same author's "*Hamletfragen*" <sup>2)</sup> the revision theory was rejected. Creizenach now saw the hand of the reporter or adapter in the compression

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<sup>1)</sup> Reviewed in *Englische Studien* XI. 1888.

<sup>2)</sup> *Shak. Jahrb.* XLII. 1906.



of the dialogue, which is also characteristic of other piratical editions. The adapter simplified the intricate story of Hamlet's journey to England and return to Denmark (V. 1.), by pressing it into one scene (between the Queen and Horatio; the same scene is given by Grant White to the author of the old play on Hamlet), which he made for the purpose. Creizenach thought the reporter took down changes which Shakespeare or the actors had made, so that it is not only he who is responsible for the differences between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ .

$Q_2$  : to split the ears of the *groundlings*.  $Q_1$  : *ignorants*

$Q_2$  : as some ungracious *pastors* do.  $Q_1$  : like to a cunning *sophister*.

These were, according to Creizenach, alterations in the authentic text ( $Q_2$ ), made by the actors out of fear for their audience. The stage-directions are of special importance (as indeed in all piratical editions) as the stenographers took down many things which are wanting in the scanty notes of the authentic text, e. g.

*Enter the ghost in his night gowne*

*Enter Ofelia playing on a Lute, and her haire downe, singing.*

It is evident that Creizenach, though an opponent of the revision-theory, is an adherent of the mutilation-theory *with qualifications*. Though believing in one Shakespearean manuscript, he admits the existence of a stage-text, which was nearer to  $Q_1$  than  $Q_2$  is. This stage-text contained alterations, made by Shakespeare or the actors, and lacked the reporter's corruptions.

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We have now considered the two alternatives to which the older critics considered themselves bound. All these authors, whether they belonged to the one side or to the other, thought it was necessary, from the nature of  $Q_1$ , to presuppose a pirate, a stenographer who took notes during performance, who might or might not be assisted by an inferior actor.

Those of the revision-theory considered  $Q_1$  a corruption of a First Sketch by Shakespeare, or, as the Cambridge Editors, as a corruption of an old play slightly touched by Shakespeare; those of the mutilation-theory considered  $Q_1$  as a corruption of the one authentic play, although some of them admit that the stage-text may have differed here and there from the text as we have it in  $Q_2$ . The criterion, whether a critic belongs essentially to one or the other side is: does he believe in one Shakespearean MS. or in two. If in one, he is a mutilationist, if in two a revisionist. Applying this criterion we must call F. P. von Westenholz a supporter of the former theory. As however he admits of no pirate, and as, consequently, the alterations that he assumes were made in the authentic text, can hardly be called mutilations, he must be given a place by himself. His ingenious theory, which opened up a large perspective, was set forth in his article "Die Hamlet-Quartos".<sup>1)</sup> According to Westenholz,  $Q_2$  is the older of the two texts.  $Q_1$  is the representative of a stage-manuscript, prepared by freely using the "red pencil", in which process practical stage-economy was the leading motive. This text was made for a *tour in the provinces*. The provincial public wanted, before everything, a "clear" text, and besides, for travelling purposes the number of *dramatis personae* had to be cut down. In the majority of differences a certain purpose is not to be denied. From  $Q_2$  to  $Q_1$  this was always from a far-fetched expression to a simpler one. The transposition of the "to be or not to be" soliloquy and the nunnery-scene from III. 1 in  $Q_2$  to II. 2 in  $Q_1$  was made to simplify the action. The numerous cuts which have shortened the piece to almost half of what it was, were caused by the wish to make away with everything superfluous, i. e. in the first instance all theoretical reflections. It is not to be denied that many of the most beautiful passages were sacrificed to this principle. The monologues

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<sup>1)</sup> *Englische Studien* 34. (1904).

were condensed, the images made more concrete. Even some names were altered in behalf of the illiterate provincial public, Rosencrans and Gwyldensterne became Rossencraft and Gilderstone, Laertes became Leartes.

It is Sir Sidney Lee's opinion (*Life of William Shakespeare*, II<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 1916) that the First Quarto of *Hamlet* was a surreptitious issue. "The text is crude and imperfect, and there is little doubt that it was prepared from shorthand notes taken from the actors' lips during an early performance at the theatre. But the discrepancies between its text and that of more authentic editions of a later date, cannot all be assigned to the incompetence of the "copy" from which the printer worked. The numerous divergences touch points of construction which are beyond the scope of a reporter or a copyist. The transcript followed, however lamely, a draft of the piece which was radically revised before *Hamlet* appeared in print again . . . . . Through the last three acts (of  $Q_1$ ) the rhythm of the blank verse, and the vocabulary are often reminiscent of Kyd's acknowledged work, and lack obvious affinity with Shakespeare's style. The collective evidence suggests that the First Quarto presents, with much typographical disfigurement, Shakespeare's first experiment with the theme. His design of a sweeping reconstruction of the old play was not fully worked out, and a few fragments of the original material were suffered for the time to remain . . . . No other theory fits the conditions of the problem. Both omissions and interpolations make it clear that the transcriber of the First Quarto was not dependent on Shakespeare's final version, nor is there ground for crediting the transcriber with the ability to foist by his own initiative reminiscences of the old piece on a defective shorthand report of Shakespeare's complete play."

Mr. A. W. Pollard<sup>1)</sup> thinks that  $Q_1$  is a successful, though bad, piracy. It represents the play in an intermediate

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<sup>1)</sup> *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (1909) p. 73.

stage between the lost *Hamlet* (of Kyd?) and the fully Shakespearean *Hamlet* of the Folio and the second and subsequent quartos. Some passages appear to have been written down from memory, while blunders seem also to have been introduced in the course of putting down the different reports. In a later work <sup>1)</sup> Mr. Pollard suggested that a reporter would have had little chance of taking down a play in stenography; he now considered it as much more likely that the pirate was a minor actor who could supply the printer with an exact copy of his part. A similar theory has been advocated by Dr. W. W. Greg with reference to *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. In the articles <sup>2)</sup> for *The Times, Literary Supplement*, of Jan. 9 and 16, 1919, Mr. Pollard, collaborating with Mr. J. Dover Wilson, showed that it was extremely improbable that the "bad quartos" of which the first Quarto of *Hamlet* is one, should owe their existence to a publisher's hireling who took notes in the auditorium. They assumed that the pirate was a small-part actor, in the case of *Hamlet* this was the actor who played Voltimand and Marcellus. This theory was more fully developed by Mr. J. Dover Wilson, who in two articles <sup>3)</sup> defended the view that there was a pirate, and that this pirate was the actor who played the part of Voltimand and probably that of Marcellus also. The play that he stole was not Q<sub>2</sub> but an *earlier version* which had been adapted for a *tour in the provinces* by some clumsy hack (probably one of the actors) in which process the original play had been considerably shortened, and the number of personages cut down. The pirate, wishing to conform his text as much as possible to the authentic text then played on the London stage and preserved in Q<sub>2</sub>, *inserted parts of the latter text*. This is the reason why the speech of Voltimand in II. 1 is almost

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<sup>1)</sup> *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates* (1917).

<sup>2)</sup> "The 'Stoïne and Surreptitious' Shakespearian Texts."

<sup>3)</sup> *The Copy for Hamlet, 1603, and the Hamlet Transcript, 1593*. London, 1918.



literally the same in  $Q_1$  as in  $Q_2$ . The history of the text is therefore, according to Mr. Wilson: (1) Kyd's play — (2) this play is revised by Shakespeare — (3) this Kyd-Shakespearean text is shortened by a clumsy adapter who makes drastic cuts and plasters over the gaps with nonsense of his own or philistine prose — (4) *this shortened text is prepared for the press by an actor who knows the complete modern play* — (5) this gives  $Q_1$  — (6) the unshortened Kyd-Shakespearean text was afterwards revised a second time by Shakespeare; this gave us  $Q_2$ . — The text of  $Q_1$  is therefore due partly to Kyd, partly to Shakespeare's first revision, partly to the adapter, and partly to Shakespeare's second (last) revision. Mr. Wilson tries to establish a direct connection between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$ , saying "that the play-house copy, from which the  $F_1$  text is derived, was in existence twenty years at least before it was printed." <sup>1)</sup>

In 1920 Prof. F. G. Hubbard, of the University of Wisconsin, published an edition with notes of the First Quarto. In the introduction he gives as his opinion that  $Q_1$  is not a piracy. His reasons are the following. In the first place there is nothing on the title-page (with the possible exception of the statement concerning performance at the Universities) that is doubtful or suspicious; the name of the author is given, the name of the company producing the play, the places of performance, the names of the publishers, and the date. There is no reason to suspect Nicholas Ling, who in 1604 published  $Q_2$  quite regularly, of piracy in the case of  $Q_1$ . — In the second place the text presents no conclusive evidence of piracy. On the contrary  $Q_1$  shows some of the criteria which Mr. Pollard assigns to "good" quartos, viz. no division into acts and scenes, brief stage-directions, of which one in the imperative. — In the third place "there is no evidence to show that either the systems (of stenography)

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<sup>1)</sup> For a detailed discussion of Mr. Wilson's first article, see my review in *Neophilologus*, VIII. 4. (July 1923).

or the short-hand writers who used them, were equal to the task of reporting a play as accurately as the text of even the worst Shakespearean quarto is given."

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Having passed in review the various theories about the relation between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ , I shall now proceed to an independent comparison of these two texts. For this purpose I have cut up the play into some sixty portions, which I give in the order in which they occur in the text. It proved impracticable to arrange the material under convenient headings, as was done for the comparison of  $Q_2$  with  $F_1$ . It seems therefore advisable, first to give a provisional summary of the conclusions to which I have come. These conclusions will be more fully stated at the end of the present chapter. If they are given here in epitome, this is only to help the reader to find his way in the great mass of material which it was necessary to collect.

I take it for granted that there was a play on the subject of Hamlet before Shakespeare's, and that Thomas Kyd was the author of that play. There is a probability that this play was the property of the Lord Chamberlain's Men, and that it existed only in the form of a manager's (prompter's) manuscript, in the hand of Kyd. This "Ur-Hamlet" was revised by Shakespeare, who probably worked on Kyd's manuscript. This Kyd-Shakespearean manuscript I shall call, for convenience' sake, *the X-manuscript*. The X-text was afterwards revised a second time by Shakespeare. This second revision caused a new manuscript to be made. The new manuscript, wholly in Shakespeare's handwriting, became the printer's copy for  $Q_2$ . — X was shortened for a tour in the provinces by a clumsy adapter who made many cuts, sometimes filling up the gaps he had made with bungling verse or nonsense of his own. This shortened text (possibly the same pieces of paper on which Kyd and Shakespeare had written) was given to Ling and Trundell for publication.

This gave us  $Q_1$ . *There was no pirate of any sort.* The differences between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  result from two causes: (1) Shakespeare's second revision of the play; (2) the shortening and adaptation of X.

The text-editions here used are Griggs's photolithographic facsimiles of the First and Second Quartos, and Halliwell-Phillips's facsimile of the First Folio. The references are to the "Arden" Edition.

1.

- I. 1. 30. ( $Q_1$ ) 2. Sentinel. Sit downe *I pray*,  
( $Q_2$ ) Bar. Sit downe *a while*,
- I. 1. 40. ( $Q_1$ ) Mar. *Breake off your talke, see* where it comes againe.  
( $Q_2$ ) Mar. *Peace breake thee of, look* where it comes againe.
- I. 1. 42. ( $Q_1$ ) Mar. *Question* it, Horatio.  
( $Q_2$ ) Mar. *Speake to* it, Horatio.
- I. 1. 65/6. ( $Q_1$ ) Mar. Thus twice before, and iump at this dead hower,  
With Marshall stalke *he passed through our watch.*  
( $Q_2$ ) Mar. Thus twice before, and iump at this dead houre,  
With martiall stauke *hath he gone by our watch.*
- I. 1. 157-64. ( $Q_1$ ) Mar. It faded on the crowing of the Cocke  
Some say, that euer gainst that season comes,  
Wherein our Sauours birth is celebrated  
*The* bird of dawning singeth all night long,  
And then they say, no spirite dare *walke* abroad  
The nights are wholesome, then no planet strikes  
No Fairie takes, nor Witch hath poure to charme  
*So gracious, and so hallowed is that time.*
- ( $Q_2$ ) It faded on the crowing of the Cock.  
Some say that euer gainst that season comes  
Wherein our Sauours birth is celebrated  
*This* bird of dawning singeth all night long,  
And then they say no spirit dare *sturre* abroad  
The nights are wholsome, then no plannets strike,  
No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charme  
*So hallowed, and so gracious is that time.*

- I. 2. 195. (Q<sub>1</sub>): Hor. this *wonder* to you. (Q<sub>2</sub>): this *marvile* to you.  
 I. 2. 257. (Q<sub>1</sub>): All the *world*. (Q<sub>2</sub>): all the *earth*.

I think the variants here placed together are best explained by the hypothesis that Shakespeare wrote a new manuscript when revising *Hamlet* for the second time. The differences are of no importance to the meaning of the passages, the poetical images and the music are but little modified by them. Had Shakespeare worked on the old manuscript, he would scarcely have thought it worth his while to make these alterations. Now that he was making a new manuscript his flying pen did not stop to copy carefully what lay before him.

2.

- I. 1. 67—69.

(Q<sub>1</sub>): In wat particular to worke, I know not,  
 But in the *thought and scope* of my opinion,  
 This bodes some strange eruption to the state.

(Q<sub>2</sub>): In what perticular thought, to worke I know not,  
 But in the *grosse and scope* of mine opinion,  
 This bodes some strange eruption to our state.

The *grosse and scope* of Q<sub>2</sub> is decidedly better than the *thought and scope* of Q<sub>1</sub>: a good instance of revision by Shakespeare.

3.

I. 1. 79—107. Horatio's speech "That can I; at least the whisper goes so". (Given in full, in both Quartos).

The bad verse-lining of the opening in Q<sub>1</sub> is, as nearly everywhere, owing to the printer. The same has happened in the carefully edited Folio. Little corruptions are also very numerous in the Folio, so that we are free to allow a pretty large share of the corruptions of Q<sub>1</sub> to the printer. The opening of the speech in Q<sub>1</sub> should therefore be read as follows:

- (1) Mary that can I,
- (2) At least the whisper goes so, our late King
- (3) Was as you know by Fortinbrasse of Norway,
- (4) Thereto prickt on, etc. <sup>1)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Prof. Hubbard (*op. cit.* p. 43.) has the same emendation.



This emendation is supported by  $Q_2$ , which also supplies us with the line which dropped out between lines (2) and (3): "Whose image euen but now appeared to us" (l. l. 81)

Lines 91 (half) — 95 (half) of  $Q_2$  :

which had returne  
To the inheritance of Fortinbrasse  
Had he bin vanquisher; as by the same comart,  
And *carriage of the article desseigne*,  
His fell to Hamlet;

are wanting in  $Q_1$ . They represent a cut. They were left out by the adapter to shorten the scene. He was less fortunate in the following cut, as here he suppressed a passage necessary to the well understanding of the story (lines 100—104):

which is no other  
As it doth well appeare unto our state  
But to recouer of us by *strong hand*  
And *tearmes compulsory*, those foresaid lands  
So by his father lost.

This cannot be a later addition by Shakespeare, as it was necessary in the earlier version. As the passage runs in  $Q_1$ , the raising of an army by Fortinbras "in the skirts of Norway" is hardly a sufficient "head and ground" for the watch on the castle of Elsinore. I note in passing that both suppressed passages have law terms, which suggest Kyd (Noverint). Did the adapter think these terms too learned for his provincial public?

#### 4.

I. l. 108—125. (Bernardo's speech, and Horatio on the portents before the death of Caesar.)

These two speeches are wanting in  $Q_1$ . Were they in X? In order to answer this question, we must consider that two factors cause the differences between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ : (a) the adapter's shortening of X, (b) Shakespeare's revision of X, in which revision passages were added to the original play. Now either of these factors may have been at work here, and probably we must look to both for an explanation

of the difference. It is to be noted that there is a very abrupt transition from l. 1. 112 ("A moth it is to trouble the mindes eye":) to 113 ("In the most high and palmy state of Rome"). If line 112 were to be followed by the entrance of the ghost and Horatio's line: "But soft, behold, loe where it comes againe" (l. 126), there would be no hiatus<sup>1)</sup>. Probably therefore Horatio's lines 113—125 are a later addition. Lines 108—112 or their prototype may have been in X. The adapter is responsible for their suppression.

5.

- l. 1. 126. (Q<sub>1</sub>): But *loe*, behold, see where it comes againe  
(Q<sub>2</sub>): But *soft*, behold, *loe* where it comes againe.

The Q<sub>2</sub> reading is better than the one of Q<sub>1</sub>, with its three synonymous imperatives. An instance of revision by Shakespeare.

6.

- l. 1. 140/41. (Q<sub>2</sub>): Marc. Shall I strike it with my partizan?  
Hor. Doe if it will not stand.

These lines, not in Q<sub>1</sub>, represent a corresponding passage in X, which was accidentally overlooked by the printer. That they, or their prototype, were part of the original X-manuscript, appears from Marcellus' words in Q<sub>1</sub>: "Tis gone, O we doe it wrong, being so maiesticall, to offer it *the shew of violence*". The corruption of the verse-lining in this sentence I also ascribe to the printer.

7.

- l. 1. 148. (Q<sub>1</sub>): And then it *faded* like a guilty thing  
Vpon a fearefull summons:  
(Q<sub>2</sub>): And then it *started* like a guilty thing  
Vpon a fearefull summons;

The *started* of Q<sub>2</sub> is better than the *faded* of Q<sub>1</sub> (revision).

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<sup>1)</sup> I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr. W. G. C. Bijvanck's article: "Inleiding tot Shakespeare's Hamlet", *De Gids*, 1900/01 (see pp. 50—52, *supra*.)

8.

I. 1. 149.

- (Q<sub>1</sub>): I haue heard  
The Cocke, that is the trumpet to the morning,  
Doth with his *earely* and shrill *crowing* throate,  
Awake the god of day, and at his *sound*,  
(Q<sub>2</sub>): Doth with his *lofty* and shrill *sounding* throat  
Awake the god of day, and at his *warning*,

The concrete “shrill crowing” of Q<sub>1</sub> was revised into the more abstract “shrill sounding” of Q<sub>2</sub>, which revision necessitated in the following line the change of “sound” to “warning”.

9.

I. 1. 165—167.

- (Q<sub>1</sub>): So haue I heard, and doe in parte beleeeue it,  
But *see* the *Sunne*, in russet mantle clad,  
Walkes ore the deaw of yon hie *mountaine top*  
(Q<sub>2</sub>): But *looke* the *morne* in russet mantle clad  
Walkes ore the dewe of yon high *Eastward hill*

The images of Q<sub>1</sub> are at once more concrete and weaker. This case of revision is characteristic for all.

10.

I. 2. At the beginning of I. 2. there is a great cut, represented by twenty-six and a half lines in Q<sub>2</sub>, which shows the characteristic corruption, so often noticed in the neighbourhood of places where lines were suppressed by this adapter. The Q<sub>1</sub>-lines :

Lordes, we here haue writ to Fortenbrasse,  
Nephew to old Norway, who impudent

are a corruption of some lines found in Q<sub>2</sub>, which here represents the original X-text :

we haue heere writ  
To Norway Vncle of young Fortenbrasse  
Who impotent

The rest of this speech was also shortened and that by a clumsy, ignorant man. Corruptions like *impudent* for *impotent*, *Cornelia* for *Cornelius*. are owing to the printer.

11.

I. 2. 44—50. The King's lines in  $Q_2$ :

You cannot speake of reason to the Dane  
And lose your voyce, (etc. etc. seven lines)

are important for the spiritual portrait of the King, but of no importance for the action of the drama. Shakespeare remodelled the character of the king in his last revision, so that, if this passage is not a later addition, we may be sure that the lines of X which the adapter cut here, were different from those of  $Q_2$ .

12.

I. 2. 50—56.

( $Q_1$ ): My gracious Lord, your fauorable licence,  
Now that *the funerall rites* are all performed  
I may haue leaue to go againe to France,  
For though the fauour of your grace might stay mee,  
Yet something is there whispers in my hart,  
Which makes my minde and spirits bend all for France.

( $Q_2$ ): My dread Lord,  
Your leaue and fauour to returne to Fraunce,  
From whence, though willingly I came to Denmarke,  
To show my dutie *in your Coronation*;  
Yet now I must confesse, that duty done  
My thoughts and wishes bend againe toward Fraunce  
And bowe them to your gracious leaue and pardon.

The phrasing of  $Q_2$  is not only much better (cf. the silly "yet something is there whispers in my hart" of  $Q_1$ ), but a significant touch is here added to the character of Laertes: in  $Q_1$  he comes for the funeral, in  $Q_2$  for the coronation. It is to be noted that Horatio in  $Q_2$ , as in  $Q_1$ , comes for the funeral (I. 2. 176).

13.

I. 2. 58—61.

( $Q_1$ ): Cor. He hath, my Lord, wrung from me a forced graunt  
And I beseech you grant your Highnesse leaue.

( $Q_2$ ): Polo. Hath my Lord wrong from me my slowe leaue (1)  
By laboursome petition, and at last (2)  
Upon his will I seald my hard consent, (3)  
I doe beseech you giue him leaue to goe. (4)





by the Queen. This is one of the surest proofs that the cuts were made in a text which was different from  $Q_2$ . This text was longer than  $Q_1$  and dramatically simpler than  $Q_3$ .

The Queen's words in  $Q_1$  :

Let not thy *mother* loose her praier Hamlet,  
*Stay* here with vs, go not to Wittenberg.

are a direct echo of the King's words ( $Q_1$ ):

Being the Ioy and halfe heart of your *mother*  
Therefore let mee intreat you *stay* in Court.

This speech of the Queen's is therefore in its right place in  $Q_2$ , but not in  $Q_1$ .

The King's lines ( $Q_1$ ): "For your intent going to Wittenberg", and the four following, are not in the right place. They should follow the King's speech on mourning for the dead and precede the Queen's: "Let not thy mother loose her praier Hamlet", which is indeed the order of the speeches in  $Q_2$ .

Now everything is cleared up. The adapter, who had to shorten the piece, made a cut after: "What meanes these sad and melancholy moodes," thereby suppressing some lines containing the King's surprise or annoyance at Hamlet's wearing mourning clothes. He then took five lines from the King's next speech and added them to the speech that by his treatment had been reduced to two lines. In this way he gave the King two speeches of moderate length, broken by Hamlet's speech which is a little shorter. The reason why the adapter made the two speeches of the King's into one, may have been that he thought the two lines that he left:

And now princely Sonne Hamlet,  
What meanes these sad and melancholy moodes?

had become too abrupt, so that the cut was too visible. He plastered it over with the King's following speech.

This scene is a good demonstration of the two factors which cause the differences between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ , viz. revision by Shakespeare, cutting and adaptation by an inferior personage.

15.

I. 2. 87. *seqq.*

(Q<sub>1</sub>): This shewes a louing care in you, Sonne Hamlet,  
But you must thinke your father lost a father,  
That father dead, lost his, *and so shalbe untill the*  
*Generall ending. Therefore cease laments,*  
It is a fault gainst heauen, fault gainst the dead,  
A fault gainst nature, and in reasons  
Common course most certaine,  
None liues on earth but hee is borne to die.

The lines in italics are corrupt. In Q<sub>2</sub> there is a lengthy passage in their stead (lines 90—101). We see here the hand of the adapter who made a cut, and plastered over the wound most awkwardly, just as we saw in Claudius' opening speech in I. 2. The cut was made in a text different from the one of Q<sub>2</sub>, as is proved by the differences in those parts which remained. Compare for instance :

(Q<sub>1</sub>): This shewes a louing care in you, Sonne Hamlet.

(Q<sub>2</sub>): Tis sweete and commendable in your nature Hamlet.<sup>1)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Mr. J. Dover Wilson (*op. cit.* p. 31) has a different theory. He italicizes  
*and so shalbe untill the*

*Generall ending*

and: *Common course most certaine*

and thinks these lines were in the margin of the manuscript from which Q<sub>1</sub> was printed. After making a second emendation by adding the word "eye" after "reasons", he contends that he has restored the original "ur-Hamlet" text "as exemplified by Q<sub>1</sub>, while the conjectural eye is just the kind of forced image which the author of that play would be likely to employ, especially, when, as here, the rhyme had caught him in its toils."

These marginal notes are not to be ascribed to Mr. Wilson's pirate Voltemar, but to Shakespeare himself, who meant these notes as memorabilia, afterwards to be elaborated. In passing he ran his pen through the hideous "eye". The printer of Q<sub>1</sub> is responsible for the printing of these marginal notes in the text.

My objections to this theory are the following. First, the lines :

That father dead, lost his, *and so shalbe untill the*  
*Generall ending. Therefore cease laments*

do not become metrical by leaving out the part in italics. Secondly, there is but one rhyming couplet on the page where the above passage is found, and that is not in the King's lines. Therefore to say that the author of "Ur-Hamlet" was here in the toils of rhyme, is saying too much. In the third place, Q<sub>1</sub> containing so much of Shakespeare can hardly be said to "exemplify the style of 'Ur-Hamlet'". In conclusion, as Mr. Wilson says, the "eye" is indeed hideous, and it seems hardly fair to emend it into the work of poor Thomas Kyd and then hang him for it. This ingenious theory is built on too conjectural a basis.

16.

I. 2. 121—128.

(Q<sub>1</sub>): Spoke like a kinde and most louing Sonne,  
And there's no health the king shall drinke to-day,  
But the great Canon to the clowdes shall tell  
The rowse the King shall drinke vnto Prince Hamlet.

(Q<sub>2</sub>): Why tis a louing and a faire reply,  
Be as our selfe in Denmarke, Madam come,  
This gentle and vnforc'd accord of Hamlet  
Sits smiling to my hart, in grace whereof,  
No iocund health that Denmarke drinks to day,  
But the great Cannon to the clowdes shall tell,  
And the Kings rowse the heauen shall brute againe,  
Respeaking earthly thunder; come away.

The lines in Q<sub>1</sub> make good sense and scan well. The passage in Q<sub>2</sub> is an elaboration of that in Q<sub>1</sub>.

17.

I. 2. 129—159. The lines of Hamlet's first soliloquy ("O that this too much grieu'd and sallied flesh") as they are in Q<sub>1</sub>, are all, but for slight variations, to be found again in Q<sub>2</sub>, with the exception of the lines:

or that the vniversall  
Globe of heauen would turne al to a Chaos!

which are bombastic and suggest Kyd. If we consider Q<sub>2</sub> as the only legitimate text, then the soliloquy of Q<sub>1</sub> is a sad jumble. But if we read it in Q<sub>1</sub>, not thinking of Q<sub>2</sub>, it makes very good sense. I think that Shakespeare re-wrote it afterwards, leaving out the last vestiges of Kyd. At the same time he added two important ideas to it, viz. the thoughts on *suicide* (Q<sub>2</sub>. ll. 131—132), and those expressive of Hamlet's *pessimism* (ll. 133—137), and elaborated a third idea, Hamlet's love of his father (ll. 139—142).<sup>1)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Robertson, *Problem of Hamlet*, (pp. 73, 74) observes that "utter sickness of heart, revealing itself in pessimism," is the new ground note of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. "And this implicit pessimism is Shakespeare's personal contribution".



18.

I. 2. 212—224. (Conversation between Hamlet, Horatio and Marcellus.

- (Q<sub>1</sub>): (1) *Hor.* These handes are not more like.  
(2) *Ham.* Tis very strange.  
(3) *Hor.* As I do liue, my honord lord, tis true,  
(4) And wee did thinke it right done  
(5) In our dutie to let you know of it.  
(6) *Ham.* Where was this?  
(7) *Marc.* My Lord, vpon the platforme where we watched.  
(8) *Ham.* Did you not speake to it?  
(9) *Hor.* My Lord we did, but answere made it none,  
(10) Yet once methought it was about to speake,  
(11) And lifted up his head to motion,  
(12) Like as he would speake, but euen then  
(13) The morning cocke crew loud, and in all haste,  
(14) It shrunk in haste away, and vanished  
(15) Our sight.  
(16) *Ham.* Indeed, indeed sirs, but this troubles me :

- (Q<sub>2</sub>): (1) *Hor.* These hands are not more like.  
(6) *Ham.* But where was this?  
(7) *Marc.* My Lord vppon the platforme where we watch  
(8) *Ham.* Did you not speake tot it?  
(9) *Hor.* My Lord I did,  
(9-10) But answere made it none, yet once me thought  
(11) It lifted vp it head, and did addresse  
(12) Itselfe to motion like as it would speake :  
(13) But euen then the morning Cock crewe loude,  
(14) And at the sound it shrunk in hast away  
(15) And vanisht from our sight.  
(2) *Ham.* Tis very strange.  
(3) *Hor.* As I doe liue my honor'd Lord tis true  
(4) And we did thinke it writ downe in our dutie  
(5) To let you knowe of it.  
(16) *Ham.* Indeede Sirs but this troubles me.

I have marked the corresponding lines with the same numbers. Every line of Q<sub>1</sub> has its parallel in Q<sub>2</sub>; although there is a little corruption here and there, probably owing to the printer, the dialogue in Q<sub>1</sub> is perfect. The order of the

speeches (which is no disorder!) is the only difference with  $Q_2$ . I think  $Q_1$  gives us here a part of the X-text, uncorrupted but for the printer, and  $Q_2$  Shakespeare's revision of that text.

19.

I. 3. 1—52. (Laertes and Ophelia).

I do not think this passage was much longer in the X-text than it is in  $Q_1$ . Perhaps something was left out by the adapter which corresponded to lines 2—4 of  $Q_2$ , and probably something was suppressed before the  $Q_1$ -line: "The chariest maide is prodigall enough", but on the whole the passage, as we have it in  $Q_1$ , represents the X-text.  $Q_2$  is an elaboration of the germ contained in X. Some of the sententious phrases which are marked with inverted commas in  $Q_2$  are literally the same in  $Q_1$ . These three lines are the only ones of this speech which are identical with some of  $Q_2$ . This seems to point to the fact that Shakespeare had worked upon the play before, and in his second revision left untouched some impressive lines which he had added to the play in his first revision.

The  $Q_1$ -lines of Ophelia, corresponding to the  $Q_2$ -lines 45—51 are weak but make very good sense. The "cunning Sophister" of  $Q_1$  suggests the learned Kyd.<sup>1)</sup>

20.

I. 3. 55—81. The speech of Corambis to Leartes (20 lines) is a little shorter than the corresponding speech of Polonius to Laertes in  $Q_2$  (27 lines). It was easy to make cuts here. The X-text must here have been identical with that of  $Q_2$ .

21.

I. 3. 87—136. The conversation between Corambis and Ofelia following on the departure of Leartes, was entirely revised

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<sup>1)</sup> Of this passage Robertson says (*op cit.* p. 36): "This is not a misreporting of the speech given us in the Second Quarto: it is a transcript, probably imperfect in two lines, of a speech in a feebler and flatter style and versification".

by Shakespeare ( $Q_1$  has 17,  $Q_2$  49 lines). If it were the other way about and the adapter had shortened the X-text here, he would certainly have dropped the superfluous sententious phrases of Corambis which in  $Q_1$  follow Ofelia's: "I shall obey my Lord in all I may". Shakespeare simply left them out when he re-wrote the scene. As they are in  $Q_1$  they are certainly not Shakespeare's, but they are good enough to be Kyd's.

22.

I. 4. 1—3. To show how dialogue is made by Shakespeare, nothing is more instructive than the following :

( $Q_1$ ): *Ham.* The ayre bites shrewd; it is an eager and  
An nipping winde, what houre ist ?

( $Q_2$ ): *Ham.* The ayre bites shroudly ; it is very colde.  
*Hora.* It is nipping, and an eager ayre.  
*Ham.* What houre now ?

23.

I. 4. 5. A fine artistic *addition* is in the following :

( $Q_0$ ): *Hor.* Indeed I heard it not, what doth this mean my Lord?  
*Ham.* O the king doth wake to night, & takes his rowse,  
Keepe wassel, etc.

( $Q_2$ ): *Hora.* Indeede ; I heard it not, *it then drawes neere the season,*  
*Wherein the spirit held his wont to walke.*  
What does this meane my Lord ?  
*Ham.* The King doth wake to-night, etc.

The sentence in italics was added. Horatio says this for the benefit of the audience, that they may know what to expect and for what purpose Hamlet and the others are there. This addition became necessary when Hamlet's long soliloquy on drunkenness etc. (I. 4. 17—38) was *added*.

24.

I. 4. 39—57. Hamlet's first speech to the Ghost ("Angels and

Ministers of grace defend vs") is almost literally the same in both texts. <sup>1)</sup>

25.

I. 4. 70. The line of X which corresponded to the Q<sub>2</sub>-line:

Or to the dreadfull somnet of the cleefe,

was accidentally dropped by the Q<sub>1</sub>-printer, as the passage makes no sense as it is.

26.

I. 4. 58—86. At the point where Hamlet wants to follow the ghost, there is again a transposition of speeches (Cf. 18). Although I think the Q<sub>2</sub> order the better of the two, the reading of Q<sub>1</sub> makes good sense. It is no disorder. This is another piece of evidence of Q<sub>1</sub> having been printed from a MS. different from Q<sub>2</sub>. <sup>2)</sup>

27.

I. 5. 1—26. This passage was virtually the same in X as in Q<sub>2</sub>. The adapter who prepared the text from which Q<sub>1</sub> was printed, cut the passage corresponding to:

(Q<sub>2</sub>): My houre is almost come

When I to sulphrus and tormenting flames

Must render up myselfe

and substituted the beginning of the first long speech of the ghost that followed:

I am thy father's spirit, doom'd for a time

To walke the night, and all the day

Confinde in flaming fire,

Till the foule crimes done in my dayes of nature

Are purged and burnt away.

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<sup>1)</sup> I draw attention to this great similarity, as it is asserted that the Voltimand-speech of II. 2. is the *only* case of almost literal identity between the two texts.

<sup>2)</sup> Line 85: "By heauen ile make a ghost of him that lets me", which occurs in Q<sub>1</sub>, has a parallel in Kyd's *Jeronimo* (IV. 360): "Let me alone, I'll turn him to a ghost" (Sarrazin: *Anglia*, XII, "Die Entstehung der Hamlet-Tragödie".)



He then followed up this speech by Hamlet's :

Alas poore Ghost

which is all unsuited to follow the ghost's revelation of himself as Hamlet's father. Then the second part of the ghost's speech follows. These two speeches of  $Q_1$ , which form one speech in  $Q_2$ , belong together. They should not be separated. — The ghost's *bestly* of  $Q_1$  was softened down to *strange* in  $Q_2$ .

28.

I. 5. 34. The X-line, corresponding to  $Q_2$  :

wouldst thou not sturre in this ;

was accidentally omitted from  $Q_1$ . It is necessary to the passage ; *briefe let me be* ( $Q_1$ ) was afterwards revised by Shakespeare into : *now Hamlet heare* ( $Q_2$ ).

29.

I. 5. 42—91. The ghost's speech beginning :

Yea he, that incestuous wretch

and ending :

Hamlet adue, adue, adue : remember me

has 34 lines in  $Q_1$  and 49 in  $Q_2$ .

There is a probability that the lines (47—52) :

( $Q_2$ ) : O Hamlet, what falling off was there

From me whose loue was of that dignitie

*That it went hand in hand, euen with the vowe*

*I made to her in marriage, and to decline*

Vppon a wretch whose naturall gifts were poore,

To those of mine

are a later addition, from the fact that the ( $Q_1$ ) line (I. 5. 46.)

So to seduce my most seeming vertuous Queene

is very aptly followed by the ( $Q_1$ ) line :

But vertue as it never will be moued (I. 5. 53).

There is no hiatus in  $Q_1$ . Besides, there is not here the

corruption which usually marks the adapter's cuts. (See section 30). The probability thus established is converted into a certainty when we find in  $Q_1$  (III. 4.) the lines :

Whose heart went hand in hand euen with that vow,  
He made to you in marriage

I think the position of these lines in  $Q_1$  (III. 4.) is the original one. Shakespeare, in revising the play, gave them the position they now have in  $Q_2$  (I. 5.).

### 30.

I. 5. 66—73.

- ( $Q_2$ ) :
- (1) That swift as quicksiluer it *courses* through
  - (2) The natural gates and allies of the body,
  - (3) And with a sodaine vigour it doth possesse
  - (4) And curde like eager droppings into milke,
  - (5) The thin and wholesome blood ; so did it mine,
  - (6) And a most instant tetter barcked about
  - (7) Most Lazerlike with vile and lothsome crust
  - (8) All my smooth body.

These lines are paralleled by the following lines of  $Q_1$  :

- ( $Q_1$ ) :
- (1) That swifte as quicksiluer, it *posteth* through (1)
  - (2) The natural gates and allies of the body, (2)
  - (3) And turnes the thinne and wholesome blood { (3, 4, 5)
  - (4) Like eager dropings into milke,
  - (5) And all my smoothe body, barked, and tetterd ouer. (6, 7, 8)

(The numbers behind the lines refer to the corresponding lines of  $Q_2$ ). The last line (5) of  $Q_1$  is a characteristic instance of the adapter clumsily substituting his shorter, unmetrical passage for a longer one of X (line 5 of  $Q_1$  corresponds to lines 6, 7, 8 of  $Q_2$ ). Likewise the  $Q_1$  lines 3, 4 are a corruption of some such lines as 3, 4, 5 of  $Q_2$ . That the adapter worked on another manuscript than the one underlying  $Q_2$  is borne out by the  $Q_1$  *posteth* of line 1 against the  $Q_2$  *courses* which is a mark of Shakespeare's later revision.

It is characteristic of the adapter that he cuts such "superfluous" flourishes as :

Cut off euen in the blossomes of my sinne,  
Unhuzled, disappointed, vnanueld,

while here again he signs the suppression as it were with  
his name in the corruption that follows it :

(Q<sub>1</sub>) : With all my *accompts* and sinnes upon my head,  
where *accompts* is nonsense and has crept in from the X  
(= Q<sub>2</sub>) lines

but sent to my *account*  
With all my imperfections on my head.

The adapter also suppressed the X-equivalent of the Q<sub>2</sub>-lines :

Let not the royall bed of Denmarke be  
A couch for luxury and damned incest

which may be left out without damaging the sense of the passage.

31.

I. 5. 92—109. In Hamlet's soliloquy (Q<sub>1</sub>) : "O all you hoste  
of heauen ! O earth, what else ?" there are some cuts, signalized  
by such an unmetrical line like :

Yes thou poore Ghost ; from the tables,  
and an unfinished line like :

And thy remembrance, all alone shall sit  
both undeniable marks of the adapter's hand.

32.

I. 5. 113—191. The conversation between Hamlet, Horatio  
and Marcellus, which closes the First Act, is almost literally  
the same in both texts. This lively conversation it was  
impossible to take down in the ineffectual short-hand of  
those times. It is equally impossible for any piratical actor  
to remember it word for word. Moreover it is plainly  
Shakespearean. This scene proves, more than anything we  
have had before, that Shakespeare had been at work upon  
Kyd's play before the printing of Q<sub>1</sub>.

II. 1. 1—73. This scene has only 31 lines in  $Q_1$ , against some 73 in  $Q_2$ .

$Q_1$ : *Enter Corambis, and Montano.*

- (1) *Cor.* Montano, here, these letters to my sonne,
- (2) And this same mony with my blessing to him,
- (3) And bid him ply his learning good Montano.
- (4) *Mon.* I will my lord.
- (5) *Cor.* You shall do very well Montano, to say thus,
- (6) I knew the gentleman, or know his father.
- (7) To inquire the manner of his life,
- (8) As thus; being amongst his acquaintance,
- (9) You may say, you saw him at such a time, marke you mee,
- (10) At game, or drincking, swearing, or drabbing,
- (11) You may go so farre.
- (12) *Mon.* *My lord, that will impeach his reputation.*
- (13) *Cor.* I faith not a whit, no not a whit,
- (14) Now happely hee closeth with *you* in the consequence,
- (15) As you may *bridle* it not disparage him a iote.
- (16) What was I about to say.
- (17) *Mon.* He closeth with *him* in the consequence.
- (18) *Cor.* I, you say right. he closeth with *him* thus,
- (19) This will hee say, let mee see what hee will say,
- (20) Mary this, I saw him yesterday, or tother day,
- (21) Or then, or at such a time, a dicing,
- (22) Or at Tennis, I or drincking drunke, or entring
- (23) Of a howse of lightnes viz. brothell,
- (24) Thus sir do wee that know the world, being men of reach,
- (25) By indirections, finde directions forth,
- (26) And so shall you my sonne; you ha me, ha you not?
- (27) *Mon.* I haue my lord.
- (28) *Cor.* Wel, fare you well, commend mee to him.
- (29) *Mon.* I will my lord.
- (30) *Cor.* And bid him ply his musicke.
- (31) *Mon.* My lord I wil. *exit*

In the  $Q_2$ -version of this passage, which is more than twice as long, there are some distinct traces of Shakespeare's later revision. As such I consider the  $Q_2$ -line (II. 1. 27):

My lord, that would dishonour him.



which in  $Q_1$  (line 12) runs :

My lord, that will impeach his reputation.  
as also the  $Q_2$  *season* (II. 1. 28) against the  $Q_1$  *bridle* (15).

In the  $Q_1$ -passage there is some corruption owing to the printer. Lines 14 and 15 have changed places which obscures the meaning. Prof. Hubbard emended this passage by transposing the lines. He also gave a different order to lines 5—8, which gives much better sense.

The corruption of line 22 :

Or at Tennis, I or drincking drunke, or entring  
must be owing to the adapter.<sup>1)</sup>

There is something wanting between lines 23 and 24; line 24 is a paraphrase showing the adapter's free and easy method, which is further demonstrated by his carelessly changing the *you* of line 14 into the *him* of line 17 and retaining it in line 18, thereby making Corambis speak nonsense.<sup>2)</sup>

34.

II. 1. 74—120.

( $Q_1$ ): *Cor.* Farewel, how now Ofelia, what's the news with you?  
and the following twenty-three lines represent the nearly uncorrupted X-text. Although the ideas are the same as those of  $Q_2$ , the wording is totally different. The only corruption is in the lines :

By heau'n t'is as proper for our age to cast  
Beyond our selues, as t'is for the younger sort  
*To leaue their wantonnesse.*

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<sup>1)</sup> See section 51 of the present chapter.

<sup>2)</sup> I think Kyd's share in this passage ( $Q_1$  : II. 1. 1-31) is no more than the first three lines, ending :

And bid him ply his *learning*, Good Montano.

Shakespeare, who revised Kyd's play, working on Kyd's manuscript, added the rest, and afterwards revised the whole, so that then the line

And bid him ply his learning, Good Montano.

was dropped, being too much like

And bid him ply his musicke.

The rest is sweetly feeble poetry, unworthy of Shakespeare, but good enough to be Kyd's. Even the line: "Silent as is the mid time of the night", is irrelevant, however much some critics may admire it. Also the great thoroughness of the revision would point to Kyd's authorship of the  $Q_1$ -passage, since it is more likely that a man should thoroughly revise another man's work, than his own.<sup>1)</sup> There may be a cut between the  $Q_1$ -lines:

*Cor.* Madde for thy loue,  
What haue you giuen him any crosse wordes of late?

or it may be Shakespeare retained these two lines in  $Q_2$ , but separated them, thus making a more lively dialogue, a practice we noticed before. — The concluding two lines of the passage in  $Q_1$ :

Lets to the King, this madnesse may prooue,  
Though wilde a while, yet more true to thy loue.

are more concrete and matter of fact than those of  $Q_2$ , a general feature.<sup>2)</sup>

### 35.

II. 2. 1—39. (Reception of Rosencrans and Guyldensterne at court).

$Q_1$ : 18 lines.  $Q_2$ : 42 lines.

The passage in  $Q_1$  is uncorrupted, and represents the X-text. The text of  $Q_2$  is a wholly revised recension, more dignified and dramatically more lively by the part the Queen takes in the conversation.

### 36.

II. 2. 40—58. (Polonius announces the Ambassadors.)

Lines 40—49 are substantially the same in the two texts. Such variants as:

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<sup>1)</sup> Robertson, (*Op. cit.* p. 36.): "Ophelia's account to her father of Hamlet's distraction begins in the First Quarto in a *non-Shakespearean* style: 'O young Prince Hamlet, the only flower of Denmarke', etc. It is earlier and poorer matter."

<sup>2)</sup> See H. Isaac's article, p. 49, *supra*.

Q <sub>1</sub> : your grace	— Q <sub>2</sub> : my good Liege
Q <sub>1</sub> : my life	— Q <sub>2</sub> : my soule
Q <sub>1</sub> : my soveraigne King	— Q <sub>2</sub> : my gracious King
Q <sub>1</sub> : so well	— Q <sub>2</sub> : so sure
Q <sub>1</sub> : had wont	— Q <sub>2</sub> : hath us'd
Q <sub>1</sub> : depth	— Q <sub>2</sub> : cause

serve but to confirm the theory that Shakespeare in revising the piece a second time, made a new manuscript, not stopping to look closely at the text before him.

Lines 50—58 (Q<sub>2</sub>) represent a cut made in the original manuscript by the adapter. The transition to the following scene, as Q<sub>1</sub> gives it, is too abrupt.

37.

II. 2. 59—85. Voltimand's speech (lines 60—80) is almost literally the same in the two texts. This striking similarity has caused the theory that the actor who played Voltimand in the later version, surreptitiously supplied the printer of Q<sub>1</sub>, with his actor's part or a copy of it. This actor-pirate theory, like a mustard-seed, caused in its turn the exuberant growth of Mr. J. Dover Wilson's Voltemar-theory.<sup>1)</sup> There is nothing strange in this similarity. The speech is nothing but an official report of the ambassador's activity at the Norwegian court. The Voltimand-part has no character whatever, and as it is of little importance to the play, no revision was necessary. That there are still some variants is owing to Shakespeare's writing a new manuscript.

38.

II. 2. 85—170. Corambis' speech "touching the young Prince Hamlet" is broken in two by the Queen's: "Good my Lord be briefe". Polonius' speech in Q<sub>2</sub> is also broken in two (by the Queen's: "more matter with lesse art") but in a different place. This points to the authenticity of the Q<sub>1</sub>-passage,

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<sup>1)</sup> For a detailed discussion of this theory I refer the reader to my article: "New Shakespeare Criticism" (*Neophilologus*, VIII, 4.).

which here represents not the adapter's work but the X-text, as is also borne out by the good verse of the passage.

Notice the difference in Hamlet's mental disorder :

Q<sub>1</sub> : He straitway grew into a melancholy,  
From that unto a fast, then unto distraction,  
Then into a sadnesse, from that unto a madnesse,  
And so by continuance, and weakenesse of the braine  
Into this *frensie*, which now possesseth him.

Q<sub>2</sub> : And he repell'd, a short tale to make,  
Fell into a sadnes, then into a fast,  
Thence to a watch, thence into a weaknes,  
Thence to lightnes and by this declension,  
Into the madnes wherein now he raues,

The *frensie*, as not belonging to the particular kind of melancholy which possesses Hamlet, was dropped in Shakespeare's revision, the climax in Q<sub>2</sub> going no further than the milder *madness*.<sup>1)</sup>

39.

II. 2. 170—225. (Fishmonger-scene.)

Of the 32 lines which this scene has in Q<sub>1</sub> only the following lines and parts of lines (here printed in italics) have no parallels in Q<sub>2</sub> :

- (19) Cor. How pregnant his replies are *and full of wit*  
(21) *All this comes by loue, the vemencie of loue*  
(26) Cor. *By the masse* that's out of the aire indeed,  
(27) *Very shrewd answers.*

The rest of the lines, although the scene of Q<sub>2</sub> is a thorough revision, so that the order of the lines is quite different, can all be found in Q<sub>2</sub>. On the other hand Q<sub>2</sub> has many lines which have no parallels in Q<sub>1</sub>. The twice repeated *except my life* is a significant trait of Hamlet's pessimism, an *additon* by Shakespeare, in perfect keeping with the addition of pessimism (lines I. 2. 133—137) and thoughts on suicide (I. 2. 131—2) to the soliloquy : "O that this too too sallied flesh would melt".

<sup>1)</sup> Robertson (*op. cit.* p. 36) speaking of this speech of Corambis, says that it is non-Shakespearean in style. "It is earlier and poorer matter."



In  $Q_2$  Polonius' daughter is introduced into the conversation. Besides, the dialogue is more lively, more dramatic.

The explanation of these facts is:  $Q_1$  represents the earlier X-version,  $Q_2$  is a revision of that version.

40.

II. 2. 228—403. (Hamlet's interview with Rosencrans and Guyldensterne). This passage shows the two factors at work which cause the differences between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ , viz. cutting and reduction by the adapter and revision by Shakespeare. That the adapter worked upon a text which differed from that which we have in  $Q_2$ , is proved by the following passages:

( $Q_1$ ): (a) *Gil.* We thank your grace and would be very glad  
You were as when we were at Wittenberg.

This passage has no parallel in  $Q_2$ .

(b) *Ham.* *Why I want preferment.*  
*Ross.* I thinke not so my Lord.

Hamlet's speech, which I have printed in italics, has a parallel in  $Q_2$ , however not in II. 2, but in III. 2. 356, in the interview between Hamlet and the two Courtiers after the play-scene. There Hamlet says:

*Sir I lacke aduancement.*

No doubt, this new wording and this new place was given to this line in Shakespeare's revision. (See Section 49 of the present Chapter).

That the adapter had another text than  $Q_2$  before him is also borne out by the order of the speeches, which, though logical enough, is not the same as that of  $Q_2$ . In  $Q_1$  Hamlet's words:

but they shall be welcome,  
He that plays the King shall haue tribute of me,  
.....  
And the Lady shall haue leaue to speak her minde freely

follow his speech on the fickleness of popular favour, and so conclude the interview. In  $Q_2$  Hamlet speaks them

immediately on hearing of the approach of the players, before he knows what players they are.

Evidence of the adapter's activity I see in Hamlet's speeches :

(Q<sub>1</sub>) : I thank you, but is this *visitation free of*  
*Yourselves, or were you not sent for ?*  
*Tell me true, come, I know the good King and Queene*  
*Sent for you, there is a kinde of confession in your eye :*  
 Come I know *you were sent for.*

These speeches in italics all occur in Q<sub>2</sub>, but they are there distributed among other speeches of Hamlet's. The adapter condensed a lengthy conversation, using some of the original words.<sup>1)</sup>

A good example of Shakespeare's later revision is afforded by a comparison of the four Q<sub>1</sub>-lines :

Yes faith, this great world you see contents me not,  
 No, nor the spangled heuens, nor earth nor sea,  
 No nor man that is so glorious a creature,  
 Contents not me, no nor woman too, though you laugh.

with their elaboration to the great prose passage of Q<sub>2</sub> beginning : "I haue of late, but wherefore I know not, lost all my mirth". In this passage Shakespeare *added* an idealistic background to Hamlet's pessimism, enabling us to get a glimpse of his original character, before his tragic fate blasted it.<sup>2)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> This view is confirmed by an interesting parallel between Q<sub>2</sub> and Kyd's *Jeronimo*. The Q<sub>2</sub>-passage corresponding to the one of Q<sub>1</sub> here mentioned, contains the lines :

*Ham.* What *newes.*  
*Ros.* None my Lord, but the worlds growne *honest.*

*Jeronimo*, IV. 360 :

*Jeron.* Strange *news* : Lorenzo is become an *honest* man.

(quoted by Sarrazin, *op. cit.* p. 152.)

It would appear that the Q<sub>2</sub> lines are Kyd's and therefore formed part of the original X-manuscript.

<sup>2)</sup> That the original passage of Q<sub>1</sub> is Shakespeare's was proved by H. Isaac in *Herrig's Archiv*, 75. (1886) who pointed out that *spangled heauen* has a parrallel in *The Taming of the Shrew* (IV. 5. 31). What stars do spangle heauen with such beauty; and in *Mids. Night's Dream* (II. 1. 29) spangled starlight; and also *Merch.* (V. 1. 59)

Look how the floor of heaven  
 Is thick inlaid with patins of bright gold.

The passage :

(Q<sub>1</sub>) : *Gil.* Yfaith my Lord, noveltie carries it away,  
For the principall publicke audience that  
Came to them, are turned to private playes  
And to the humour of children.

was elaborated to what we find in the Folio, but struck from the Q<sub>2</sub> manuscript in its entirety before it went to press. (See Chapter II, p. 31, *supra*.)

The lines that follow this scene present great typographical corruption best exemplified by their having *Plato* for *Plautus*.

41.

The Pyrrhus-speech was considerably shortened by the adapter. It is also corrupt here and there, but in the main the Q<sub>1</sub>-reading is the same as that of Q<sub>2</sub>.<sup>1)</sup>

42.

II. 2. 586—644. Hamlet's soliloquy "O what a rogue" has 31 lines in Q<sub>1</sub>, 55 lines in Q<sub>2</sub>.

The crude first line of Q<sub>1</sub> (= X) :

Why what a dunghill, idiote slaue am I  
became the Q<sub>2</sub> :

O what a rogue and peasant slaue am I.

The following 7 lines of Q<sub>2</sub> (or their X-equivalent) are summed up in one awkward line in Q<sub>1</sub> (evidently the adapter's work) :

Why these Players here draw water from eyes.

The Q<sub>1</sub> lines :

His father murdered, and a Crowne bereft him  
He would turne all his teares to droppes of blood  
Amaze the standers by with his laments,  
Strike more then wonder in the iudiciall eares

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<sup>1)</sup> H. Isaac gives parallels between the Pyrrhus-speech and *Troilus, Macbeth, Coriolanus*. (*Herrig's Archiv*, vol. 75, p. 19.)

are not in  $Q_2$ , but they are very good verse. They were part of the X-text, but were left out by Shakespeare in his second revision.

In the X-text there must have been some lines corresponding to  $Q_2$  :

Ile haue these Players  
Play something like the murther of my father,  
Before mine Vncle, Ile obserue his lookes,  
Ile tent him to the quicke, if a doe blench  
I know my course,

as these lines are necessary to follow Hamlet's reasoning.

This soliloquy shows the two factors at work which have caused the differences between the two Quarto texts, viz. Shakespeare's second revision of the original Kyd-Shakespearean X-text, which revision gave us  $Q_2$ ; and the adapter's shortening of the X-text, the gaps made being bridged over with clumsy verse.

43.

III. 1. 1—28. (Report of Rosencrans and Guyldensterne to the King and Queen.)

( $Q_1$ ) *King*. Lordes, can you by no meanes finde  
The cause of our sonne Hamlets lunacie ?  
You being so neere in loue, euen from his youth  
Me thinkes should gaine more than a stranger should.

( $Q_2$ ) *King*. An can you, by no drift of conference  
Get from him why he puts on this confusion,  
Grating so harshly all his dayes of quiet  
With turbulent and dangerous lunacie ?

At first sight the first two lines of  $Q_1$  seem a paraphrase or condensation of the four lines of  $Q_2$ . The second two lines of  $Q_1$  however, have no parallel in the corresponding passage of  $Q_2$ , but re-echo a passage earlier in  $Q_2$  :

That beeing of so young dayes brought up with him  
And sith so nabored to his youth and hauior (II. 2. 11, 12).

There is no reason to assume that the adapter should have condensed four lines of the original (X) manuscript into two



of  $Q_1$ , and have added two lines which he happened to remember of a previous passage, where the King also conversed with the two courtiers. — The best explanation seems to be that the four  $Q_1$ -lines reflect the original X-manuscript; afterwards Shakespeare elaborated the first two lines, and gave to the idea of the second two (though in a different form), a place earlier in the play.

The  $Q_1$ -recension of the remainder of this scene is less dramatical, less lively than the corresponding part of  $Q_2$ . We noticed the same in the earlier scene between the King and Queen and the two courtiers (II. 2.). The verse of the  $Q_1$  passage is good, the wording is quite different from that of  $Q_2$ . The invitation of the King and Queen to the Play is in  $Q_1$  conveyed by Rosencraft, in  $Q_2$  by Polonius, to whose task it more appropriately belongs. The easy flow of the verse forbids us to consider the  $Q_1$  passage as an adaptation or contraction of a longer scene. — Our final conclusion is that the report of Rosencrans and Guyldensterne, together with the conversation bound up with it, forms a fine example of the way in which Shakespeare revised his play for the second time. The phrasing became more poetic, the contents more interesting as a study of characters, the dialogue more lively. <sup>1)</sup>

In  $Q_1$  the Queen winds up the conversation with :

Thanks gentlemen, and what the Queene of Denmarke  
May pleasure you, be sure you shall not want.

These lines are not in  $Q_2$ . They have however the same turn of phrase as Hamlet's lines (I. 5. 185—87) :

$Q_1$  : And what so poore a man as Hamlet may,  
To pleasure you, God willing shall not want,

$Q_2$  : And what so poore a man as Hamlet is,  
May doe 't expresse his love and frending to you  
God willing shall not lack.

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<sup>1)</sup> It is now easy to see why the speech of the ambassador Voltemar (Voltimand) was not revised : there was no room for poetical phrasing and the character of the ambassador had to remain non-descript, in order not to overload the play.

The Queen's lines must therefore be Shakespeare's, since it is not to be thought of that the adapter should be so versed in Shakespearean diction as to give to the Queen the same expression as Shakespeare gives to her son.

What better evidence is wanted for the existence of an independent, at least in part Shakespearean manuscript at the back of  $Q_1$ ?

44.

III. 1. 56—88. ("To be or not to be").

The original soliloquy of the X-text was very different from that of  $Q_3$ . The ignorant adapter made some awkward cuts, so that the great soliloquy has become a sad jumble in  $Q_1$ , but we can still recognize one or two outstanding features, showing that the original must have been very different from  $Q_3$ .

- $Q_1$  : (1) that dreame of death, *when wee awake*,  
(2) The vndiscovered country, at whose sight,  
    *The happy smile and the accursed damn'd*  
(3) the *ioyful hope* of this,  
(4) The widow oppressed, the orphan wronged,  
    *The taste of hunger, or a tirants raigne,*  
(5) But for a *hope* of something *after death*?

In the  $Q_2$  reading there is only the *dread*, not the joyful hope of something after death. This disappearance of hope may be compared with Shakespeare's addition of pessimism to the first soliloquy (see section 17, *supra*). The wrongs that we suffer in this world were in X much more concrete than in  $Q_2$ . I think that the original "to be or not to be" soliloquy, as we have it in  $Q_1$  (though in a corrupted state) is Kyd's.

45.

III. 1. 89—169. (Nunnery-scene)

This scene proves the existence of an independent manuscript at the back of  $Q_1$ , in the first place by the order of the lines, which is quite different in the two texts, especially in the first half of the scene. In the second place by the occurrence

in  $Q_1$  of the following lines and parts of lines which have no parallels in  $Q_2$  :

- (1) *As would haue moou'd the stoniest breast aliue,*
- (2) *Alas, what change is this?*
- (3) *Pray God, restore him.*
- (4) *A pox, t'is scuruy,*
- (5) *Great God of heauen, what a quicke change is this?*
- (6) *All dasht and splinterd thence,*

Line (2) being only one of too many weak exclamations of Ophelia, was omitted in the revision.

In (3)  $Q_1$  : *Pray God* became  $Q_2$  : *Heauenly powers*.

Line (4) became  $Q_2$  : *goe to*, one of many examples of the refinement of rude expressions.

Line (5) being only a weak repetition of a weak line, was dropped in  $Q_2$ , and replaced by the fine line:

O what a noble mind is here oerthrowen.

Shakespeare added many lines to this scene, and at the end retained the old cue, which only speaks for his practical knowledge of stage-business.

(T'haue seen what I haue seen, see what I see).

On the place of the "to be or not to be" soliloquy and the nunnery-scene in  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  see H. Isaac's article "Die Hamlet-Periode". (p. 49, *supra*.)

46.

III. 2. 1—53. (Hamlet's advice to the Players)

This scene contains plentiful evidence of the existence of two independent manuscripts. The  $Q_2$  lines: "Be not too tame neither" . . . . . as far as: "a whole Theater of others" (lines 19—33) I consider as a later addition by Shakespeare, which is no longer mere professional advice to a player, but an actor's proud vindication of his art.

On the other hand the following  $Q_1$ -lines must have belonged to the original X-manuscript. They are not in  $Q_2$ .

And then you haue some agen, that keepes one sute  
Of ieasts, as a man is knowne by one sute of  
Apparell, and Gentlemen quotes his ieasts downe  
In their tables, before they come to the play, as thus :  
Cannot you stay till I eate my porrige ? and, you owe me  
A quarters wages : and, my coate wants a cullison :  
And, your beere is sowre : and, blabbering with his lips,  
And thus keeping in his cinkapase of ieasts,  
When, God knows, the warme Clowne cannot make a iest  
Unlesse by chance, as the blinde man catcheth a hare :  
Maisters tell him of it.

As Mr. Furnivall noticed, the phrases of this passage are Shakespearean in tone. They cannot be the adapter's work. Besides, it was his task to shorten the piece, not to add to it. This occurrence in  $Q_1$  of a characteristically Shakespearean passage, which is not in  $Q_2$ , points to the independent older manuscript at the back of  $Q_1$ .<sup>1)</sup>

Such variants as the following also point in the same direction :

( $Q_1$ ) : I'de rather heare *a towne bulle bellow*,

( $Q_2$ ) : I had as liue *the towne cryer spoke my lines*,

( $Q_1$ ) : to split the eares of the *ignoraut*,

( $Q_2$ ) : to spleete the eares of the *groundlings*,

The "bellowing bull" was replaced by the "towne cryer", which is an example of good taste, the picturesque "groundlings" was substituted for the vapid "ignorant".

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<sup>1)</sup> Mr. Furnivall (*Forewords* to  $Q_2$ ) observes : "These sneers seem to be aimed at some special clown, doubtless the clown of Shakespeare's company, Will Kemp, a known extemporiser and grimacer. Kemp had left the company and gone abroad. He had returned by Sept. 1601 (Sloane MS. 414, leaf 56) and by the winter of 1602 had rejoined the company. See Dr. Nicholson's Paper in *N. Sh. Soc. Trans.* 1880—2, part I, and *The Return from Parnassus* where Kemp is introduced personally. Staunton, Nicholson, and others have believed that Kemp was hit at in  $Q_1$ . He may well have been; but when the 1601, or early 1602 play was revisd in 1604, and Kemp was dead, or had again a fellowship in their company of players, the sneers would naturally go out."



47.

III. 2. 60—99. (Hamlet and Horatio).

This scene, which has 23 lines in  $Q_1$ , against 42 in  $Q_2$ , was thoroughly revised and elaborated by Shakespeare. Such variants as ( $Q_1$ ): *those time-pleasing tongues*;  $Q_2$ : *the candied tongue*, point to Shakespeare, not to the adapter.<sup>1)</sup> So also:

( $Q_1$ ): And if he doe not bleach, and change at that

( $Q_2$ ): if his occulted guilt

Doe not it selfe vnkennill in one speech,

( $Q_1$ ): My lord, mine eies shall still be on his face,

And not the smallest alteration

That shall appeare in him, but I shall note it.

( $Q_2$ ): Well my lord,

If a steale ought the whilst this play is playing

And scape detected, I will pay the theft.

48.

III. 2. 100—309. (Play Scene.)

The  $Q_1$ -line: "Lady will you giue me leaue, and so forth:" which is followed by: "To lay my head in your lappe?", has no parallel in  $Q_2$ . Creizenach thought the words *and so forth* were evidence of the pirate, who intended to work up this passage at home. As it does not seem probable that anything is wanting between "Lady will you giue me leaue," and "to lay my head in your lappe", I prefer to consider the curious words *and so forth* as an allusion on Hamlet's part to some popular song. As such it fits in with the general mocking trend of the dialogue.

The conversation between Hamlet and Ofelia before the Dumb Show enters, which in  $Q_1$  is a mere four lines, is much longer in  $Q_2$ . Lines 126—129 only occur in  $Q_2$ , but the  $Q_2$  lines 130—145 are also found in  $Q_1$ , however in a different

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<sup>1)</sup> H. Isaac (*op. cit.*) gives two Shakespearean parallels to "time-pleasing tongues", *Twelfth Night* II. 3. 160; *Coriolanus* III. 1. 45.

place. In  $Q_1$  the lines beginning:

"*Ofel.* Y'are very pleasant my Lord"  
and ending: "With hoh, with ho, the hobihorse is forgot"  
are spoken just before the Murderer enters, consequently near the end of the Play scene. Here is a striking instance of artistic *revision*, When writing  $Q_2$ , Shakespeare removed these lines, in which Hamlet *plays* the madman, to an earlier moment in the play, because he saw, that the increasing tension towards the climax in the play-scene must make it impossible for Hamlet to dissimulate. When the murderer enters Hamlet betrays the real state of his feelings:

Beginne murtherer, leaue thy damnable faces and begin, come.

The Player-Duke of  $Q_1$  begins as follows:

*Duke.* Full fortie yeares are past, their date is gone  
Since happy time ioyn'd both our hearts as one:  
And now the blood that fill'd my youthfull veines,  
Runnes weakely in their pipes and all the straines  
Of musicke, which whilome pleasde mine eare,  
Is now a burthen that Age cannot beare:  
And therefore sweete Nature must pay his due  
To heauen must I, and leaue the earth with you.

This beginning is quite different from the Player-King's lines in  $Q_2$ . The good verse forbids us to think of the adapter in this case.  $Q_2$  therefore represents Shakespeare's revision.<sup>1)</sup>

The  $Q_2$  lines 200—222 are a later insertion. They do not stand for a cut in the original X-MS. This is demonstrated in the first place by the good sense the  $Q_1$ -reading makes, and secondly by the closing line of the inserted passage, which clearly shows the traces of the interpolation.

*But orderly to end where I begunne,*  
Our wills and fates do so contrary runne, etc.

The line I have placed in italics clearly serves to graft the new passage on to the old stock.

On the other hand the Queen's lines:  $Q_2$ , 228—233 seem

<sup>1)</sup> A few lines further down the Duke says ( $Q_1$ ): "Thou maist (perchance) haue a more noble mate". Prof. Boas noticed a parallel in *Sp. Tr.* II. 1. 26: "I, but perhaps she hopes some nobler mate".

to me to represent a passage cut by the adapter from the X-manuscript, as the concluding lines of this speech :

Both heere and hence pursue me lasting strife,  
If once I be a widdow, euer I be a wife.

are evidently meant for a climax. So  $Q_1$ , which has only these last two lines, has the climax without that which leads up to it ! The adapter has signed the cut with his name in corrupting the line :

Both heere and *hence* pursue me lasting strife  
into the silly :

Both here and *there* pursue me lasting strife,  
whereas the following line :

( $Q_1$ ) : If once a widdow, euer I be wife.

represents the authentic X-manuscript. The corresponding line of  $Q_2$  is corrupt.

Lines III. 2. 241—258 are almost verbally the same in the two texts. Only  $Q_1$  has the very characteristic :

*Father*, it is a knauish peece a worke  
which marks  $Q_1$  as an old version.

After the Murderer has poisoned the player-king,  $Q_1$  has :

*Ham* : He poysons him for his estate.

$Q_2$  : *Ham* : A poysons him i' th' Garden for his estate, his names Gonzago, the story is extant, and written in very choice Italian, you shall see anon how the murtherer gets the loue of Gonzagoes wife.

This is later revision. Shakespeare saw that at the moment of greatest tension, *his* Hamlet must relieve his feelings by words, words, words. How characteristic of him is that "story in very choice Italian", how grand is this speech of simple words, behind which we feel nerves strung to the breaking-point. These few staccato sentences are simply vibrating with dramatic energy. The unmasking of the king is indeed the climax of this "tragedy of moral idealism".

The close of the Play-scene contains some more instances of revision :

Q<sub>1</sub> : *Ham.* I Horatio, i'lle take the Ghost's word  
For more then all the coyne in Denmarke.

Q<sub>2</sub> : *Ham.* O good Horatio, Ile take the Ghosts word for a thousand pound.

Q<sub>1</sub> : *Ham.* And if the king like not the *tragedy*,<sup>1)</sup>  
Why then belike he likes it not perdy.

Q<sub>2</sub> : *Ham.* For if the King like not the *Comedie*,  
Why then belike he likes it not perdy.

The *comedie* is of course much more in keeping with Hamlet's mood.

49.

III. 2. 310—391. (Hamlet's conversation with Rosencrans and Guyldensterne).

This scene was greatly extended in Shakespeare's later revision. The new version became a valuable addition to the spiritual portrait of Hamlet. One passage of the Q<sub>2</sub>-version echoes part of the earlier conversation between Hamlet and the two courtiers (II. 2), as the Q<sub>1</sub>-reading has it :

Q<sub>1</sub> (II. 2) :

*Ross.* . . . . . and willingly if we might  
Know the cause and ground of your discontent.

*Ham.* Why I want preferment.

*Ross.* I thinke not so my lord.

Q<sub>2</sub> (III. 2) :

*Ros.* Good my Lord, what is your cause of distemper, you do surely barre the doore of your owne liberty if you deny your griefes to your friend.

*Ham.* Sir I lacke aduancement.

*Ros.* How can that be, when you haue the voyce of the King himselfe for your succession in Denmarke.

(See section 40 of the present chapter.)

<sup>1)</sup> Prof. Boas observed a parallel between these lines of Q<sub>1</sub> and *Span. Trag.* IV. 1. 196-7 :

And if the world like not this Tragedy,  
Hard is the hap of old Hieronimo.

Note that both these passages have *tragedy* against the Q<sub>2</sub> *comedie*.



After the episode with the recorder,  $Q_1$  has Hamlet's comparison of Rossencraft with a sponge. This sponge-episode is given in  $Q_2$  in IV. 2. 13—24. (See section 54 of the present chapter.)

There is a curious difference between the passages :

$Q_1$  : For hee doth keep you *as an Ape doth nuttes*,  
In the corner of his law, first mouthes you,  
Then swallows you :

$Q_2$  : he keepes them like *an apple* in the corner of his iaw,  
first mouth'd to be last swallowed.

It seems to me the  $Q_1$  reading is more correct than the  $Q_2$  one. The simile of the ape with nuts in the corner of his jaw, is certainly more plausible than that a king should keep an apple in his mouth to swallow it last. Probably the printer must be held responsible for this.

50.

III. 2. 393—418. The Camel and Weasel chaff with Polonius is the same in both texts. The awkward  $Q_1$ -line :

*Ham.* My mother she hath sent to speake with me  
seems to indicate a cut here, which in  $Q_2$  is represented by seven or eight lines.<sup>1)</sup>

$Q_1$  has : I will speake daggers, those sharp wordes being spent  
To doe her wrong my soule shall ne're consent.

$Q_2$  : I will speake dagger to her, but use none,  
My tongue and soule in this be hypocrites,  
How in my words someuer she be shent,  
To giue them seales neuer my soule consent.

The good verse of the  $Q_1$ -passage compels us to consider the  $Q_2$ -reading a piece of revision from the hand of Shakespeare.

<sup>1)</sup> It is exactly in these seven or eight lines of  $Q_2$  that the sentence occurs: "now could I drinke hote blood", which Sarrazin thought has a parallel in *Jeronimo* :

When we have *drunk*  
*Hot blood* together

(*Anglia* XII. p. 153).

This double occurrence of an idea, expressed in much the same phrase, makes it plausible that some such line occurred in the "Ur-Hamlet", and consequently in X.

51.

III. 3. 1—72. The  $Q_2$ -lines 1—35 do not occur in  $Q_1$ . In this passage the King instructs Rosencrans and Guyldensterne about their mission to England, and the two courtiers are morally compromised. They "make love to the employment". Between the lines we may read that they know something of the criminal nature of their commission, and so they justify Hamlet hoisting them with their own petar. Shakespeare, in revising the play, saw the poetical necessity of laying this guilt upon the courtiers' consciences. A look at the *Spanish Tragedy* will satisfy us, that Kyd had no scruples on this head. I think, therefore, there is a fair probability that this passage was not part of the original X-manuscript.

The good verse and the total difference in wording compel us to see in the King's lines :

( $Q_1$ ) : O that this wet that falles vpon my face

and the next twelve, a part of the original X-manuscript, afterwards revised by Shakespeare ; <sup>1)</sup> the same applies to the King's words :

( $Q_1$ ) : My wordes fly vp, my sinnes remaine below,  
No King on earth is safe, if Gods his foe.

which in  $Q_2$  became :

My words fly vp, my thoughts remaine belowe,  
Words without thoughts neuer to heauen goe.

and it also applies to Hamlet's :

( $Q_1$ ) : I so, come forth and worke thy last

and following fifteen lines, which were considerably revised, Shakespeare retaining the original ideas and the cue. <sup>2)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Robertson, (*Problem of Hamlet*, p. 37) : "This is not a first draft by Shakespeare, any more than it is a misreport of the soliloquy of the second Quarto : it is pre-Shakespearean".

<sup>2)</sup> It is in this passage of  $Q_1$  that we find the expression "the immortall powres" which became "heauen" in  $Q_2$ . Sarrazin observes that this expression is unusual in Shakespeare, but that it occurs in the earlier drama, i. a. in Kyd's *Jeronimo* : "O immortal powers".

It is interesting to note that here is the same *drinking drunke* we found in Corambis' speech to Montano (II. 1; section 33 of the present chapter). In the Montano-passage the phrase occurs in a line which is corrupt and too long, in Hamlet's soliloquy the line in which the expression occurs is much too long. Does the awkward phrase belong to the adapter's vocabulary?

52.

III. 4. Hamlet's interview with his mother. (Closet-scene).

a.

(Q<sub>1</sub>): *Queene*. How i'st with you?

*Ham*. I'le tell you, but first weele make all safe.

These lines, which are not in Q<sub>2</sub>, must have belonged to the X-manuscript.

b.

In this scene (III. 4) Q<sub>1</sub> has the lines:

Whose heart went hand in hand euen with that vow,  
He made to you in marriage, and he is dead.

With the exception of the awkward *and he is dead*, these lines have a parallel in Q<sub>2</sub>, however not in III. 4, but in I. 5. 48—50:

From me whose loue was of that dignitie  
That it went hand in hand, euen with that vowe  
I made to her in marriage,

I think the position of these lines in Q<sub>1</sub> is the original one. Shakespeare gave them the place in I. 5. when he revised the play. Now that the hall-mark of *these* lines is established, we may safely assume as a fact, that other lines of this Q<sub>1</sub> passage which present great divergence from Q<sub>2</sub>, also originally belonged to the X-manuscript. I mean such lines as:

(Q<sub>1</sub>): A front wherein all vertues are set downe  
*For to*<sup>1)</sup> adorne a King, and guild his crowne,

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<sup>1)</sup> This *for to* is generally considered as a mark of Kyd's workmanship. Robertson, however, thinks *for to* is probably a misprint for *fit to*.

A looke fit for a murder and a rape,  
A dull dead hanging looke, and a hell-bred eie  
To affright children and amaze the world : <sup>1)</sup>

c.

At the same time it is highly probable that we have corruption in the following Q<sub>1</sub> lines :

that vow,  
He made to you in marriage, *and he is dead.*  
I'll make your eyes look downe into your heart,  
And see *how horride there and blacke it shews.*  
An eye, *at which his foes did tremble at.*

It is evident from such corruptions, that the adapter shortened the scene. The text upon which he worked, however, was not Q<sub>2</sub> but an earlier text, the X-manuscript. <sup>2)</sup>

d.

The four Q<sub>1</sub> lines :

- (1) What Diuell thus hath cosoned you at hob-man blinde?
- (2) A, haue you eyes and can you looke on him
- (3) That slew my father and your deere husband,
- (4) To liue in the incestuous pleasure of his bed ?

must be considered a short paraphrase, from the adapter's hand, of a longer passage in the X-text. Line (3) is flat and unmetrical, and line (4) was taken from a preceding passage (Hamlet's soliloquy in the Prayer-scene) :

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<sup>1)</sup> Prof. Dowden (*Arden Hamlet*, Introduction. p. XVIII) considers these last three lines as un-Shakespearean, and therefore Kyd's. Judging from the style they certainly are.

<sup>2)</sup> That the X-manuscript contained more lines than Q<sub>1</sub> is borne out by the following observation. In the passage, corresponding to this corrupted one of Q<sub>1</sub>, Q<sub>2</sub> has the following line :

*Hiperion's curles, the front of Ioue himselfe,*

to be compared with two lines of Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda* (quoted by Sarrazin : *Anglia*, XII, p. 152) :

Fair locks, resembling Phoebus radiant beams ;  
Smooth forehead, like the table of high Ioue.

This parallel is too perfect to be accidental. The X-manuscript must have contained the Q<sub>2</sub> line. The passage was corrupted by the adapter.



(Q<sub>1</sub>, Q<sub>2</sub>) Or in the incestuous pleasure of his bed. (III. 3. 90).

e.

The closet-scene affords more evidence of an independent MS. at the back of Q<sub>1</sub>. There is in the first place the different distribution of identical lines. In Q<sub>1</sub> the ghost enters after Hamlet's words:

O throw away the worser part of it, and keepe the better.  
which line occurs also in Q<sub>2</sub>, but long after the ghost has gone away again. (III. 4. 157/58).

In Q<sub>1</sub> the ghost enters when Hamlet is raging:

A King of shreds and patches.

The prototype of this line in Q<sub>1</sub>:

To leaue him that bare a Monarkes minde,  
For a King of clowts, of *very shreads*.

occurs 11 lines before the entry of the ghost.

In the second place there are instances of poetical revision.  
The fine Q<sub>1</sub>-lines:

Saue me, saue me, you gracious  
Powers aboue, and houer ouer mee,  
With your celestiall wings.

became the supremely beautiful Q<sub>2</sub>:

Saue me and houer ore me with your wings  
You heauenly gards: what would your gracious figure.

The Q<sub>1</sub>-lines:

Doe you not come your tardy sonne to chide,  
That I thus long haue let reuenge slip by ? <sup>1)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Robertson (*op cit.* p. 69) ascribes these two lines to Kyd, observing that in the First Quarto the Ghost says nothing of an "almost blunted purpose". "That is Shakespeare's modification."

Compare also *Span. Trag.*: And art thou come, Horatio from the deapth,  
To ask for justice in this upper earth,  
To tell thy father thou art unrevenged ?

became the much more poetical:

(Q<sub>2</sub>): Doe you not come your tardy sonne to chide,  
That laps't in time and passion lets goe by  
Th'important acting of your dread command,

f.

The Queen's character was modified in a most significant way when Shakespeare revised the X-manuscript. In Q<sub>1</sub> she protests:

But as I haue a soule I sweare by heauen,  
I neuer knew of this most horride murder.

This protest is wanting in Q<sub>2</sub>. — In Q<sub>1</sub> she also promises to help Hamlet:

I will conceale, consent, and doe my best,  
What stratagem soe're thou shalt deuise.<sup>1)</sup>

In Q<sub>2</sub> she only promises silence:

Be thou assur'd, if words be made of breath  
And breath of life, I haue no life to breath  
What thou hast said to me.

g.

III. 4. 200—210. The passage on the hoisting with the petar is not in Q<sub>1</sub>, nor is it in F<sub>1</sub>. I discussed this in the preceding chapter.

<sup>1)</sup> That these two lines are Kyd's is, I think, a fact. *The Spanish Tragedy*, IV. 1. 45—49 has:

*Bellimperia.* Hieronimo, I will consent, conceal  
And ought that may effect for thine avail,  
Join with thee to revenge Horatio's death.  
Hier. On then; and *whatsoever* I devise,  
Let me entreat you, grace my practices.

This parallel was first noticed by Sarrazin (*Anglia*, XIII, p. 118).

53.

IV. 1. Forty-six lines in  $Q_2$ ; twenty-one lines in  $Q_1$ .

The King's  $Q_1$ -lines :

Haply the aire and climate of the Country  
May please him better than his natiue home :

have a parallel in the King's lines to Polonius :

( $Q_2$ ) : III. 1. 179—83.

Haply the seas, and countries different,  
With variable objects, shall expell  
This something settled matter in his hart.

The uncorrupted character of the  $Q_1$ -lines, together with the fact that they fit into the context, forbid us to consider them a reminiscence of the adapter's. If then they are Shakespeare's (or Kyd's) words,  $Q_1$  gives us the place in which these lines originally occurred in the X-manuscript. And if these lines are Shakespeare's (Kyd's) then the Queen's :

Whenas he came, I first bespake him faire,  
But then he throwes and tosses me about,  
As one forgetting that I was his mother :

which have no parallel in  $Q_2$ , may also be Shakespeare's or Kyd's, so a passage of the X-manuscript. The dropping of these lines in  $Q_2$  is a significant negative trait in the spiritual portrait of Hamlet.

54.

The second scene of the IV<sup>th</sup> act (of  $Q_2$ ) is wanting in  $Q_1$ , with the exception of the sponge-episode, which in  $Q_1$  is to be found in III. 2, after the passage with the recorder. (See section 49 of the present chapter).

55.

(IV. 3.). The King's speech of IV. 3. 1-11, which is very important for the characterization of Hamlet ("Hee's lou'd of the distracted multitude"), is not in  $Q_1$ . No doubt it is a

later addition. Lines 11—60 ( $Q_2$ ) have a parallel in  $Q_1$ , only here there is again the *Sonne Hamlet* of the King and Hamlet's *Father*, a mark of the X-manuscript.<sup>1)</sup>

The King's soliloquy at the end of this scene has an altogether different recension in  $Q_1$ . Probably a line dropped out between the  $Q_1$ -lines:

He presently without demanding why,  
That Hamlet loose his head, for he must die.

The soliloquy underwent thorough revision.

56.

IV. 4. 1—66. (Fortinbras' Army and the soliloquy: "How all occasions doe informe against me").

The  $Q_2$ -wording of lines 1—8 (Fortinbras' army marching) is different from that of  $Q_1$ , so that we are entitled to consider it a revision. The following scene (Hamlet's conversation with the captain and the soliloquy) is not in  $Q_1$ ; I think this is a later addition.<sup>2)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Sarrazin (*Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*. p. 96) points out that the King's speech to Hamlet in  $Q_1$ , which differs greatly from the  $Q_2$ -recension, has parallels in *Henry V*.

( $Q_1$ ): Well sonne Hamlet, we in care of you; but specially  
in tender preservation of your health,  
The which we price euen as our proper selfe,  
It is our minde you forthwith goe for England,  
The winde sits faire, you shall aboorde to night,  
Lord Rossencraft and Gilderstone shall goe along with you.

(Henry V.): Now sits the wind fair, and we will aboard. (II. 2. 12)

.....  
We'll yet enlarge that man,  
Though Cambridge, Scroop and Grey, in their dear care  
And tender preservation of our person,  
Would have him punish'd. (II. 2. 57—60)

From this parallel between  $Q_1$ -*Hamlet* and *Henry V* we may conclude that this passage in  $Q_1$  is not a corruption of the corresponding  $Q_2$ -passage, but an earlier version by Shakespeare. Therefore the  $Q_2$ -passage affords a good instance of revision.

<sup>2)</sup> Robertson thinks that Hamlet's soliloquy, which alone motives the appearance of Fortinbras in this scene, was already written when the first Quarto was issued, but was dropped in the representation, as it is dropped in the Folio, for sheer lack of time. (This, of course, is not saying that there is any direct connection between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$ ). I am of opinion that the appearance of Fortinbras was necessary anyhow to prepare us for his reappearance at the end of the piece.



57.

After this,  $Q_1$  has a short scene between the King and the Queen, in which the King informs the Queen that Hamlet is shipped for England, and Leartes has come back from France; the Queen tells the King that Ofelia has gone mad. This scene is replaced in  $Q_2$  by an altogether different one between Horatio, Gertrard and a Gentleman, in which Horatio and the Gentleman advise the Queen to hear Ophelia, who has gone mad.

58.

IV. 5. 21—199. (Ophelia's madness).

In  $Q_1$  the scene begins with:

*Ofelia.* How should I your true loue know (1)

and ends with:

God buy you Loue (100)

one hundred lines in all. ( $Q_2$  has about 180 lines). These 100 lines are all to be found in  $Q_2$ , with the exception of:

- |     |   |      |
|-----|---|------|
| (a) | <i>King.</i> A pretty wretch! this is a change indeede: | (27) |
|     | O Time, how swiftly runnes our joyes away?              | (28) |
|     | Content on earth was neuer certaine bred,               | (29) |
|     | To day we laugh and liue, to morrow dead.               | (30) |
| (b) | that your father is murdred,                            | (44) |
|     | Tis true, and we most sorry for it                      | (45) |
|     | Being the chieftest pillar of our state:                | (46) |
| (c) | I will no reconcilement but by blood.                   | (51) |
| (d) | Meane while be patient, and content your selfe.         | (55) |
| (e) | <i>Lear.</i> By whome, by heauen I'le be resolved.      | (40) |
| (f) | O heauens themselues! how now Ofelia?                   | (59) |
| (g) | O God, O God!   |      |

The lines mentioned under (a) are commonplace. They certainly belonged to the X-text, as they show none of the corruptions which always mark the adapter's work. They cannot be by Shakespeare. The style indicates Kyd, and

Shakespeare struck the lines when he was for the second time revising Kyd's play.<sup>1)</sup>

The three lines mentioned under (b) may very well have been part of the original X-text; so may (c) and (d); (e) and (f) are lines which might easily be dropped in any revision, (g) is a mere exclamation.

We see then, that by far the greater number of the  $Q_1$ -lines are found in  $Q_2$ , although they are distributed over the  $Q_2$ -scene in the most haphazard fashion. Some of the lines common to both texts show marks of revision. Besides, no fewer than ninety-two lines are new in  $Q_2$ , and for them no parallel can be found in  $Q_1$ . To this may be added that the  $Q_1$ -text makes quite as good sense as the  $Q_2$  one. I think there is no other explanation possible than to assume an original short text (X), which was afterwards revised and added to ("enlarged to almost as much againe as it was"! <sup>2)</sup>) by Shakespeare. The notion that any pirate, either stenographer or actor, could mishear and muddle up the great madness scene of  $Q_2$  so that it became the hundred lines of  $Q_1$ , is absurd.

The rest of IV. 5, between the King and Laertes, is totally unlike in the two versions, although the  $Q_1$  passage is good verse and makes very good sense. Therefore this part of  $Q_1$  is original X-text, and the corresponding passage of  $Q_2$  is a revision of it. <sup>3)</sup>

59.

$Q_1$  now has a scene between Horatio and the Queen which is not in  $Q_2$  or in the Folio. The Queen's words:

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<sup>1)</sup> Robertson (*op. cit.* p. 61) gives these lines to Kyd. Sarrazin (*Anglia*, XIII, p. 119) was struck by the style of the second two lines of this passage, which he thought was pure Kyd, although he did not know a parallel.

<sup>2)</sup> Title-page of  $Q_2$ .

<sup>3)</sup> The lines by *Leartes*:

"You haue preuail'd my Lord, a while I'le striue,  
To bury grieffe within a tombe of wrath."

have a parallel in *Span. Trag.* (II. 4. 20):

*Bellimperia*: Thou hast preuailde; ile conquer my misdoubt,  
And in thy loue and counsell drowne my feare. (Boas)

Then I perceiue there's treason in his lookes  
That seem'd to *sugar o're* his villainie :  
But I will soothe and please him for a time,  
For murderous mindes are always *jealous*,

are in keeping with her earlier utterances, likewise suppressed in  $Q_2$  :

I will conceale, consent, and doe my best,  
What stratagem soe're thou shalt deuise,

and as these latter lines are certainly Kyd's (see note to section 52. f.), so the former have *jealous*, for the sake of the metre to be read *jealous*, which scansion has been found to be typically Kydian.<sup>1)</sup>

60.

The following scene (IV. 6.) of  $Q_2$  is not in  $Q_1$ . The substance is given, in  $Q_1$ , in the scene just discussed between the Queen and Horatio.

61.

In the latter part of  $Q_2$ , IV. 5., the King promises Laertes full information concerning his father's death. The opening lines of  $Q_2$ , IV. 7. are an apt sequence to the concluding words of IV. 5. The King has fully satisfied Laertes in the meanwhile. In  $Q_1$  the King promises no such thing, and consequently the  $Q_1$ -scene that corresponds with  $Q_2$ , IV. 7. has no parallel to the King's words to Laertes :

Now must your conscience my acquittance seale, etc. (IV. 7. 1—4). A parallel to  $Q_2$ , IV. 7. 5—35 is wanting in  $Q_1$ . This  $Q_2$ -passage is of great importance for the light it sheds on the relations between the guilty couple. Besides, the passage contains a second allusion to Hamlet's popularity: "the great

<sup>1)</sup> Robertson (*op. cit.* p. 62) thinks this scene must be attributed to Kyd. "The scene may have been curtailed; but it is certainly non-Shakespearean, and the line: 'But murderous minds are always jealous (jelious),' with its peculiar scansion, points definitely to him." (p. 38). "The word is so scanned in the *Spanish Tragedy* (II. 2. 56) and its occurrence with that scansion four times in *Arden* is one of the many clues to Kyd's authorship of that play."

On the other hand the term *to sugar o're his villainie* seems to be Shakespearean. It occurs  $Q_1$ , III. 1. 48: "we doe *sugar ore* the deuill himselfe". So there is a possibility that the scene is not altogether non-Shakespearean.

loue the general gender beare him". (The first allusion is in III. 3. 1—11: "hee's lou'd of the distracted multitude".) As both these allusions are wanting in  $Q_1$ , and as both are of the utmost importance for the characterization of the Prince, I consider them both as later additions, as indeed the whole of IV. 7. 1—35.

62.

IV. 7. 36—47. In  $Q_1$  there is no messenger with letters for the King and Queen: the King and Leartes enter, having already knowledge of Hamlet's return. There is no hiatus. This knowledge was already alluded to in  $Q_1$  by Horatio, in the scene with the Queen which is not in  $Q_2$  (see section 59)

I thinke by this the news be come to court:

He is arriv'de,

We may therefore safely conclude, that the X-manuscript had not got the messenger with his letters either. He is a later addition.

63.

IV. 7. 48—196.

a.

The  $Q_2$ -lines:

But let him come,

It warmes the very sicknes in my hart

That I liue and tell him to his teeth

Thus didst thou. (55—58)

have a parallel in  $Q_1$ :

O he is welcome, by my soule he is:

At it my iocund heart doth leape for ioy,

That I shall liue to tell him, thus he dies.

The different wording of  $Q_2$  argues for revision.

b.

$Q_1$  has: *King*. Leartes, content your selfe, be rulde by me,

And you shall haue no let for your reuenge.

*Lear*. My will, not all the world.

This line by Leartes is also in  $Q_2$ , however not in the corresponding place. It here occurs in IV. 5. 136, and is the answer to the King's:

Who shall stay you? (135)



Probably some such line as this dropped out accidentally from Q<sub>1</sub>; as it is, Leartes' line hangs in the air. The different place of this line in Q<sub>1</sub> is another proof of the independent MS. at the back of Q<sub>1</sub>.

The scene in which the King tempts Leartes was much elaborated in Q<sub>2</sub>. A significant touch was added to Hamlet's character:

                                  he being remisse,  
Most generous, and free from all contriuing,  
Will not peruse the foyles,

and Laertes was made more of an active evil-doer, by making him anoint his sword. Besides, the scene gained in dramatical interest. I think the allusion to the Norman "Lamord" and the King's moralizing on the "weeke" in the flame of love are later additions. The former is probably an allusion to some contemporary fencer, the latter adds a touch to the character of the King. The line:

                                  that we would doe  
We should doe when we would:

connects with *Macbeth*.<sup>1)</sup>

---

<sup>1)</sup> Robertson (*op. cit.* p. 38) observes: "in the line:

                                  He might be once tasked for to try your cunning,

in the First Quarto's version of the King's talk to Leartes after learning of Hamlet's return — a piece of dialogue clearly pre-Shakespearean — the "for to" points to Kyd, who uses that idiom eight times in *Arden*. But there emerges here a further clue, noted by Professor Boas, (Introd. to Kyd's works, 1901, p. LI) which clinches the other. In the *Spanish Tragedy* Bellimperia says (IV. 1. 178):

                                  You mean to try my cunning, then, Hieronimo.

These small coincidences become progressively significant as they accumulate. After the King in the First Quarto has remarked to Leartes: "He might be once tasked for to try your cunning," Leartes asks:

                                  And how for this?

and the King begins his reply:

                                  Marry, Leartes, thus.

Exactly in the same fashion, in the *Tragedy*, when Hieronimo has been talking to Lorenzo of tragedy-writing, the latter asks (IV. 1. 74):

                                  And how for that?

and Hieronimo replies:

                                  Marry, my good Lord, thus.

And in both cases the explanation given is met in the same way, Leartes saying, 'Tis excellent', and Lorenzo, 'O excellent'."

c.

IV. 7. 165—196. The Queen's lines in Q<sub>1</sub>:

O my Lord, the yong Ofelia  
Hauing made a garland of sundry sortes of floures,  
Sitting upon a willow by a brooke, etc.

are a first cast, by Shakespeare, of the Queen's pathetic lament of Q<sub>2</sub>. No pirate would have had the stupid audacity of taking all the beautiful flowers of Q<sub>2</sub> together as "a garland of sundry sortes of floures". It is certainly more plausible that these Q<sub>1</sub>-lines are Shakespeare's first, hasty sketch.<sup>1)</sup>

The concluding lines of the IV<sup>th</sup> act in the Q<sub>1</sub> version have the good old Kydian ring:

Reuenge it is must yeeld this heart releefe,  
For woe begets woe, and griefe hangs on griefe.<sup>2)</sup>

64.

V. 1. (The grave-yard).

a. (V. 1. 1—67)

The scene between the two clowns, as it is given in Q<sub>1</sub>, must be original. It is different in many respects from that of Q<sub>2</sub>, but it makes quite as good sense, or rather nonsense, as the latter. If the adapter had been at work upon this scene, in order to shorten it, he would certainly have made an awful jumble of such a scene as this. It has been pointed out that the first grave-digger's riddle is murdered. But the same has happened with the riddle of Q<sub>2</sub>. The former version is no greater nonsense than the latter.

<sup>1)</sup> Robertson has pointed out that Leartes' line in Q<sub>1</sub>:

Therefore I will not drowne thee in my teares,

has a parallel in *Span. Trag.* II. 5. 23:

To drowne thee with an ocean of my tears.

*Hamlet-Q<sub>2</sub>* has for this line:

And therefore I forbid my teares. (Shakespeare's revision).

<sup>2)</sup> Sarrazin (*Anglia* XIII. p. 118; *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis* pp. 107, 108) gives the parallel from Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (II. 5. 39):

Isabella. O where's the author of this endless woe?

Hieronimo. To know the author were some ease of greefe  
For in revenge my hart would finde releefe.

b. (V. 1. 71—239).

In  $Q_2$  Hamlet considers three skulls in succession. The first "had a tongue in it and could sing once", it may have been "the pate of a politician, or of a Courtier"; the second may have been the skull of a lawyer; the third that of "a great buyer of land." The first is not specially alluded to in  $Q_1$ : "the slaue joles their heads against the earth." The second, the lawyer's, is mentioned in the same way as in  $Q_2$ . The "buyer of land" has become shadowy in  $Q_1$ , but this is owing to the accidental dropping of a line, or part of a line. There is some corruption in the  $Q_1$ -lines:

now where is your  
*Quirkes and quillets now*, your vouchers and  
Double vouchers, your leases and free-holde.

As far as *Quirkes and quillets now*, the passage is all right, these being lawyer's attributes. But just as the quirks and the quillets belong to the lawyer's profession, vouchers and double vouchers belong to the tenure of land. Some such line as the  $Q_2$ , "this fellowe might be in's time a great buyer of land" has dropped out after *Quirkes and quillets now*, in the  $Q_1$  passage quoted above. In fact, the land-owner is a second time alluded to by Hamlet in the  $Q_1$ -lines:

Ifaith they prooue themselues sheepe and calues  
That deale with them, *or put their trust in them*.

Those "that deale with them", are the lawyers, those that "put their trust in them," viz. in parchment documents, are the land-owners. — A comparison of the two readings of this passage, giving us another instance of similarity in ideas, dissimilarity in expression, forces us to the conclusion that here also  $Q_1$  represents the "first sketch" or rather first "revision",  $Q_2$  the second revision.

This is further borne out by the differences in the distribution of the speeches, and by such a line as the following:

( $Q_1$ ): *Clowne*. If I should say, I should, I should lie in my throat, sir.

which is not to be found in  $Q_2$ , and must be considered to have belonged to the original X-manuscript.

The reference to Hamlet's age was expressly put in, with the later revision. *There is no trace of it in  $Q_1$* . It seems as if Shakespeare were saying: Whatever your impression may have been as to the youth of the earlier Hamlet, *my* Prince is a full-grown man.

c. (V. 1. 240—321)

In  $Q_1$  the lines:

Forbeare Leartes, now is hee mad, as is the sea,  
Anone, as milde and gentle as a Doue:  
*Therefore a while giue his wilde humour scope.*

are given to the King; I think this is a printer's error, as the words do not at all suit the king, but should be spoken by the queen, as they are in  $Q_2$ . The italicized line is not in  $Q_2$ , nor is Hamlet's  $Q_1$ : *I neuer gaue you cause*. These lines point to the independent X-manuscript at the back of  $Q_1$ , a revision of which gave us  $Q_2$ .<sup>1)</sup>

65.

V. 2. 1—67. Hamlet's narrative to Horatio of his adventures at sea is not in  $Q_1$ . The substance of this dialogue is there given in a scene between the Queen and Horatio, (see section 59). So this  $Q_2$  scene is a later addition.

As I pointed out in Chapter II, I hold, that V. 2. 68—80, only to be found in the Folio, was accidentally dropped from  $Q_2$ . The passage was added to the prompter's copy of  $Q_2$ , and so got into the Folio.  $Q_1$  has four lines which form a parallel to four lines of this omitted passage:

$Q_1$ . Ham. beleue mee, it greeues mee much Horatio,  
That to Leartes I forgot myselfe:  
For by my selfe me thinkes I feelee his grieffe,  
Though there's a difference in each others wrong.

<sup>1)</sup> Hamlet's: "I never gaue you cause", which is not in  $Q_2$ , has a parallel in *Span. Trag.* III. 14. 148 where Lorenzo says:

Hieronimo, I never gave you cause.

(Robertson *op cit.* p. 40, and Boas, *Thomas Kyd*, ch. on "Ur-Hamlet.")



F<sub>1</sub>.       but I am very sorry good Horatio,  
          That to Laertes I forgot my selfe ;  
          For by the image of my Cause, I see  
          The Portraiture of his.

The F<sub>1</sub>-passage is a revision of the Q<sub>1</sub> one. The latter is not a corruption of the former. It appears that even the passage omitted from Q<sub>2</sub> shares the usual characteristics of similarity in substance, dissimilarity in expression.

I think that of this scene (V. 2. 1—80) X only contained the four lines preserved in Q<sub>1</sub> and here quoted. So V. 2. 1—74 is later addition, V. 2. 75—80 later revision.

66.

The passage with the "Bragart Gentleman" in Q<sub>1</sub> contains some lines which are not in Q<sub>2</sub>, most of which, however, bear a distinctly Shakespearean character. They therefore help to prove that there is an independent Shakespearean MS. at the back of Q<sub>1</sub>.

- a. The court knowes him, but hee knowes not the Court.
- b. foh, how the muske cod smels !
- c. You may sir, none better for y'are spiced,  
     Else he had a bad nose could not smell a foole.

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The material collected in this chapter contains plentiful evidence of an independent version at the back of Q<sub>1</sub>. This evidence is of various kinds :

(a) There are in the first place the names *Corambis* and *Montano*, consistently used for the characters in Q<sub>2</sub> called *Polonius* and *Reynaldo*. Then we have the names *Leartes*, *Ophelia*, *Rossencraft*, *Gilderstone*, *Voltemar*, which in Q<sub>2</sub> are spelled *Laertes*, *Ophelia*, *Rosencrans*, *Guyldensterne*, *Voltemand*. The

Interlude in  $Q_1$  has a *Duke* and *Duchess*, that in  $Q_2$  a King and Queen.

(b)  $Q_1$  contains some scenes and long passages which are not found in  $Q_2$ . For some examples the reader is referred to sections 46, 53, 57 and 59.

(c)  $Q_1$  also contains very many single lines, not found in  $Q_2$ , the Shakespearean or Kydian authorship of some of which is admitted by most critics, whereas the rest are certainly beyond the adapter, who on every occasion proves himself to be an ignorant, clumsy hand. Some striking examples are contained in sections 17, 21, 39, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48, 53, 58, 64c, 66.

(d) The position of some scenes and passages and single lines in  $Q_1$  differs considerably from the place they occupy in  $Q_2$ ; in other cases the order of the lines and passages in the same scene differs from that in the corresponding  $Q_2$ -passage. The  $Q_1$ -order is no disorder. For examples see sections 18, 26, 29, 38, 40, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 52b, 52e, 53, 58, 63b.

(e) Another interesting feature which argues for an independent MS. at the back of  $Q_1$ , is the consistent use of the terms *father* and *sonne* between Hamlet and the King in  $Q_1$ . In  $Q_2$  Hamlet never calls the King "father," he seems purposely to avoid it, even to the extent of calling his uncle "mother" (IV. 3.), and the King addresses Hamlet as his "son" but twice (I. 2.) Here follows a complete list of all the  $Q_1$ -lines where the King calls Hamlet "son", or Hamlet calls the King "father".

- I. 2.  $Q_1$  : And now princely *Sonne* Hamlet,  
 $Q_2$  : And now my Cosin Hamlet, and my *sonne*.  
 $Q_1$  : This shewes a louing care in you, *Sonne* Hamlet,  
 $Q_2$  : Tis sweete and commendable in your nature Hamlet,  
 $Q_1$  : All Denmarkes hope our coosin and dearest *Sonne*.  
 $Q_2$  : Our chieftest courtier, cosin, and our *sonne*.  
 $Q_1$  : Spoke like a kinde and most louing *Sonne*,  
 $Q_2$  : Why tis a louing and a faire reply,

III. 1.

Q<sub>1</sub> : *King*. Lordes, can you by no meanes finde  
The cause of our *sonne* Hamlets lunacie,

Q<sub>2</sub> : *King*. An can you by no drift of conference  
Get from him why he puts on this confusion,

IV. 3.

Q<sub>1</sub> : *King*. Now *sonne* Hamlet, where is this dead body?

*Ham*. *Father*, your fatte king, and

*Ham*. Nothing *father*, but to tell you, how a King

*King*. But *sonne* Hamlet

*Ham*. *Father*, you had best looke in the other partes below

*King*. Well *sonne* Hamlet, we in care of you

Q<sub>2</sub> has not one of all these "fathers and *sonnes*".

V. 2. Q<sub>1</sub> : *King*. Now *sonne* Hamlet, we haue laid

Q<sub>2</sub> : *King*. Come Hamlet, come and take

(f) Additional evidence of an independent MS. at the back of Q<sub>1</sub> is afforded by all those cases where it is clear that later revision has caused the differences between Q<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub>, and not the misreporting of Q<sub>3</sub>. These revisions are of various kinds. There are in the first place the minor variants, I mean those cases where one word is replaced by another which can scarcely be said to be better. These variants are most easily explained by assuming that Shakespeare made a new MS. when revising the play for the last time. (Not at all an unlikely proceeding, if we assume that the first revision had been made on the pieces of paper used by Kyd.) (See sections 1, 13, 30, 33, 36). Then there are those revisions which were made for the sake of a more correct or poetical phraseology. They often replace a concrete expression in Q<sub>1</sub> by a more abstract one in Q<sub>2</sub>. (For examples I refer to sections 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 16, 21, 34, 42, 46, 47, 48, 50). The characters also underwent fundamental revision, which is, among numerous instances, apparent from sections 12, 17, 38, 44, 48, 52e, 52f, 55, 61, 63b.

So much for one of the two factors which cause the differences between the two quartos. The other is formed

by the cuts which were made in the X-manuscript to shorten it. Sometimes a passage has been so much corrupted by this process, that the meaning has become obscure. (See sections 3, 14, 27.) Comparison with  $Q_2$  then shows us that something has been suppressed. It must, however, be understood that  $Q_2$  may, indeed, help us to trace some cuts, but it can never supply us with the identical lines that were suppressed. The cuts were made in X, and  $Q_2$  is a *revision* of the unshortened X-manuscript, so it is highly probable, that the lines suppressed by the adapter, appear in their revised form in  $Q_2$ . It will also be found that in those places where a cut is very probable, we not infrequently meet with unmetrical, corrupted lines in the passages that remained, as if the adapter had clumsily tried to make the gap invisible. Sometimes he substitutes, for the passage suppressed, one or two unmetrical, nonsensical lines of his own; sometimes he strings together some authentic expressions and half lines, thus forming lines which have the outward semblance of Shakespearean verse. Bungling verse and corruption so consistently accompany the cuts that, if a piece of corruption cannot be traced to the printer, it may be taken as an indication of the adapter's activity. For examples see sections 3, 10 14, 15, 20, 27, 30, 31, 33, 40, 41, 42, 44, 52c,d.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### Is there any direct connection between $Q_1$ and $F_1$ ?

In the second chapter of the present treatise I asserted the theory that  $Q_2$  was printed from Shakespeare's manuscript, and that  $F_1$  was printed from a stage-copy of  $Q_2$ . In the third chapter I gave as my opinion that  $Q_1$  was printed from a Kyd-Shakespearean manuscript which had undergone shortening and thereby corruption, and that  $Q_2$  was a revision of the unshortened Kyd-Shakespearean text. The logical consequence of these theories is, that there is no direct connection between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$ . There are, however, a few instances of parallelism between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  which seem to contradict this representation of the relations between the three texts of *Hamlet*, and which seem to point to some direct connection between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$ . The following are cases in point. I shall try to demonstrate that the agreement between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  is superficial and accidental, and that even these cases help to strengthen the theories set forth in chapters II and III.

#### 1.

I. 1. 108—125.

(Bernardo's four lines beginning: "I thinke it be no other, but enso", followed by fourteen lines by Horatio).

These eighteen lines are only in  $Q_2$ , they are wanting in  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  alike. In Ch. III, sect. 4, I suggested the possibility that the four lines of Bernardo and the first of Horatio had a parallel in X. This parallel passage may have had the same form as that of  $Q_2$ , or the  $Q_2$  version is a revision of it. The suppression of these five lines in  $Q_1$  is owing to the adapter, whose activity is evident in the passage immediately preceding. I also gave as my opinion that the remaining thirteen lines of Horatio (113—125, the omens) were a later

addition by Shakespeare. This addition was afterwards struck, and the suppression marked in the stage-copy of  $Q_2$ .<sup>1)</sup> At the same time the five lines immediately preceding the passage on the omens (108—112) were struck. The omission of these eighteen lines thus found its way into the Folio. The assertion that there is no direct connection between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  is further strengthened, if we consider that the  $Q_2$ -text of the passages immediately preceding and following the eighteen lines discussed here, is practically identical with  $F_1$ , whereas the  $Q_1$ -version differs considerably. This instance of agreement between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  is accidental.

2.

I. 2. 58—61.

( $Q_1$ ): *Cor.* He hath, my Lord, wrung from me a forced graunt  
And I beseech you grant your Highnesse leaue.

( $Q_2$ ): *Pol.* (He) Hath my Lord wroung from me my slowe leaue  
By laboursome petition, and at last  
Upon his will I seald my hard consent,  
In doe beseech you giue him leaue to goe.

( $F_1$ ): *Pol.* He hath my Lord:  
I do beseech you give him leaue to go.

The  $Q_2$ -passage is a revision and elaboration of the two  $Q_1$ -lines. The texts of  $Q_2$  and the Folio are identical, but for the cut which was made in the  $Q_2$ -prompt-copy. Notwithstanding the superficial likeness between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  in this passage, there is no direct connection between the two.

3.

A graver objection against the theory that there is no direct connection between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  is formed by the lines I. 4. 75—78:

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<sup>1)</sup> Furnivall, *Forewords to  $Q_2$* , p. V. "The play was very long, and the philosophizings . . . . . of Horatio on Apparitions would naturally be cut out."

The very place puts toyes of desperation  
Without more motiue, into euery braine  
That lookes so many fadoms to the sea  
And hears it roar beneath,

which are wanting in  $Q_1$  as well as in  $F_1$ . Although the speech of Horatio's of which these four lines form part, has in  $Q_1$  another place than in  $F_1$ , it is interesting that the identical four lines are wanting in both texts. However, in this scene, the order and wording of the speeches in  $Q_1$  are different from those of  $F_1$ . The Folio, on the other hand, is, but for those four lines, strikingly identical with  $Q_2$ , so that a direct connection between  $Q_2$  and  $F_1$  cannot be denied. — The explanation of this curious agreement between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  is, I think, as follows. The X-manuscript originally had the lines. (The rest of this scene shows such striking resemblance in wording between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  that we may assume the X-lines to have been identical or nearly so, with those of  $Q_2$ .) The player who acted the part of Horatio, struck them, and this suppression got into the prompter's copy (identical with the X-manuscript). This prompter's copy was given to the adapter, who found the cut ready to his hand, and so got no opportunity of mutilating the passage in his customary way. Consequently the lines did not appear in  $Q_1$ . Shakespeare revised X before it was given to the adapter, probably before the prompter had struck the lines, and as he made but little alteration in this scene of the play, the four lines were retained in  $Q_2$ . The actor who played Horatio altered his player's part in conformity to Shakespeare's revision, except in this place. The motives he had before for striking the lines, he had still. So they were again struck in the prompt-copy, which was now a copy of the printed  $Q_2$ . This prompt-copy was used to print  $F_1$  from. This explains why the lines did not appear in  $F_1$ .

4.

The above three instances of parallelism between  $Q_1$  and

F<sub>1</sub> are all cases of *negative* agreement, i.e. these two texts agree against Q<sub>2</sub> in *lacking* the same lines, contained in Q<sub>2</sub>. The following instance of agreement between Q<sub>1</sub> and F<sub>1</sub> as against Q<sub>2</sub> is of a more positive nature. It is the passage on the Child-actors (II. 2. 355—383), which occurs only in the Folio, but seems to have been cut from the Q<sub>2</sub>-manuscript. (See Ch. II, sect. E. 2.) The germ of this passage seems to be in Q<sub>1</sub> :

*Gil.* Yfaith my Lord, nouettie carries it away,  
For the principal publike audience that  
Came to them are turned to priuate playes,  
And to the humour of children.

The explanation is probably as follows: there was an allusion to the children in X, which is found in Q<sub>1</sub>. This allusion was elaborated in Shakespeare's second revision, but cut from his manuscript before he went to press, probably because the child-actors had become the "Queen's Revels' Children", and it would not do for the "King's servants" to censure the "Queen's children".<sup>1)</sup> After some time the passage was inserted again in the copy of Q<sub>2</sub> that was used as a manager's copy, and from this copy the Folio was set up.

5.

III. 1. 107—8.

Q<sub>1</sub>, II. 2. *Ham.* That if you be faire and honest,  
*Your beauty should admit no discourse to your honesty.*  
*Ofel.* My Lord, can beauty haue better priuiledge than with honesty?  
*Ham.* Yea Mary may it; for Beauty may transforme  
Honesty, from what she was into a bawd:  
Then Honesty can transforme Beauty:  
This was sometimes a Paradox,  
But now the time giues it scope.

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<sup>1)</sup> See Furnivall, "Forewords" to Q<sub>2</sub>, p. XV; quoted above, Ch. II, sect. E. 2.



(Q<sub>2</sub>, III. 1. 107—8.)

*Ham.* That if you be honest & faire, *you should admit no discourse to your beautie.*

*Oph.* Could beauty my Lord haue better comerse  
Then with honestie ?

*Ham.* I truly, for the power of beautie will sooner transforme honestie from what it is to a bawde, then the force of honestie can translate beautie into his likenes, this was sometime a paradox, but now the time guies it prooffe.

(F<sub>1</sub>) : *Ham.* That if you be honest and faire, *your Honesty should admit no discourse to your Beautie.*

*Oph.* Could Beautie my Lord, haue better Commerce then  
your Honestie ?

*Ham.* I trulie : for the power of Beautie, will sooner transforme Honestie from what it is to a Bawd, then the force of Honestie can translate Beautie into his likenesse. This was sometime a Paradox, but now the time giues it prooffe.

The Q<sub>2</sub> reading: "you should admit no discourse to your beautie" is corrupt, *you* being a printer's error for *your honesty*. This is also the emendation of the Folio. The Folio Editors probably found the line so emended in the prompter's copy of Q<sub>2</sub> used by them. The context necessitated this emendation, for that matter. It was not supplied by Q<sub>1</sub>, which has: "your beauty should admit no discourse to your honesty". No doubt the Folio line was the one Shakespeare wrote in the Q<sub>2</sub> manuscript. In the lines that lead up to it *honesty* precedes *beauty*. (*Are you honest* precedes *Are you faire*; "if you be *honest* and *faire*"). Besides the Folio line is *logically* correct.

On the other hand I am firmly convinced that the Q<sub>1</sub> line is not corrupt. In the passage that leads up to it, *Are you faire?* precedes *Are you honest?* We find: "if you be *faire* and *honest*", and consistently with this: "Your *beauty* should admit no discourse to your *honesty*." And there is this to be said in favour of the Q<sub>1</sub> reading, that it is *paradoxically* correct, and therefore in keeping with the general tone of

Hamlet's talk. Does not he say that his argument was "sometime a paradox?"

6.

III. 2. 34—38.

- (Q<sub>1</sub>): There be fellowes that I haue seene play,  
And heard others commend them, and that highly too,  
That hauing neither *the gate of Christian, Pagan,*  
*Nor Turke*, haue so strutted and bellowed,
- (Q<sub>2</sub>): O there be Players that I haue seene play, and heard others  
praysd, and that highly, not to speake it prophanely, that  
neither hauing th'accent of Christians, nor *the gate of*  
*Christian, Pagan nor man*, haue so strutted & bellowed,
- (F<sub>1</sub>): Oh, there bee Players that I haue seene Play, and heard  
others praise, and that highly (not to speake it prophanely)  
that neyther hauing the accent of Christians, nor *the gate of*  
*Christian, Pagan, or Norman*, haue so strutted and bellowed,

Of the line in italics the Q<sub>1</sub>-reading is certainly correct. The *nor man* of Q<sub>2</sub> must be a corruption, as it makes no sense, as the Q<sub>1</sub> *Turke* does, against the *Christian, Pagan*; the F<sub>1</sub> reading is merely a clumsy emendation of the Q<sub>2</sub>-line, and a fine piece of evidence against the theory that there is any direct connection between F<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>1</sub>. If the Folio Editors had used a copy of Q<sub>1</sub> to emend Q<sub>2</sub> by, or if they had had at their disposal any supposed common source of F<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>1</sub>, they would in this case certainly have printed the Q<sub>1</sub> *Turke* instead of the ludicrous *Norman*. At the same time the F<sub>1</sub>-emendation shows that the Folio Editors considered the Q<sub>2</sub>-reading corrupt. Here is a case of corruption which can only be emended with the help of Q<sub>1</sub>.

7.

III. 2. 275—284.

- (Q<sub>1</sub>): *Ham.* He poysons him for his estate.  
*King.* Lights, I will to bed.  
*Cor.* The King rises, lights hoe.  
*Exeunt king and Lordes.*  
*Ham.* What, frightened with false fires?

(Q<sub>2</sub>): *Ham.* A poysons him i' th' Garden for his estate, his names Gonzago, the story is extant and written in very choice Italian, you shall see anon how the murtherer gets the loue of Gonzagoes wife.

*Oph.* The King rises.

+

*Quee.* How fares my Lord ?

*Pol.* Giue ore the play.

*King.* Giue me some light, away.

*Pol.* Lights, lights, lights.

(F<sub>1</sub>): *Ham.* He poyson's him i'th Garden for's estate : His name's Gonzago : the story is extant and writ in choyce Italian. You shall see anon how the Murtherer gets the loue of Gonzago's wife.

*Oph.* The King rises.

*Ham.* *What, frightened with false fire.*

*Qu.* How fares my Lord ?

*Pol.* Giue o're the Play.

*King.* Giue me some Light. Away.

*All.* Lights, Lights, Lights.

The line in italics : *What, frightened with false fire(s)*, is another instance of accidental agreement between Q<sub>1</sub> and F<sub>1</sub>. Anybody who compares the above passages of Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub> will be struck by the almost literal identity. Against this the occurrence in Q<sub>1</sub> of the line : "What frightened with false fires", which does not occur in Q<sub>2</sub>, proves little. Besides, in Q<sub>1</sub> it occupies a position different from that of F<sub>1</sub>, coming after the exeunt of the king and lords, whereas in F<sub>1</sub> it follows on the rising of the king. The absence of the line from Q<sub>2</sub> (in the place indicated by a +—) is easily explained by the Q<sub>2</sub> printer accidentally dropping the line, a very common accident in printing.

Note also the differences in the last line before the exit of the King, in the above quotations. Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub> have the same speech, however in Q<sub>2</sub> it is spoken by Polonius only, in F<sub>1</sub> by all.

8.

III. 4. 5—8.

(Q<sub>1</sub>): *Cor.* Madame, I heare yong Hamlet comming,  
I'le shrowde my selfe behind the Arras.

*Queene.* Do so my Lord.

*Ham.* *Mother, mother,* O are you here?  
How is't with you mother.

(Q<sub>2</sub>): (Pol.) Pray you be round.

*Enter Hamlet*

*Ger.* Ile wait you, feare me not,  
Withdrawe, I heare him comming.

*Ham.* Now mother, what's the matter?

(F<sub>1</sub>): (Pol.) Pray you be round with him.

*Ham. within.* *Mother, mother, mother.*

*Qu.* Ile warrant you, feare me not.  
Withdraw, I heare him comming.

*Enter Hamlet.*

*Ham.* Now Mother, what's the matter.

The Folio, in giving to Hamlet, "within", the line: "Mother, mother, mother", fixed a stage-practice which seems to be indicated by the Q<sub>1</sub>-line: "Mother, mother, O are you here?" The old practice remained in use after Q<sub>2</sub> was used to prompt from, was reinserted in the prompter's copy, and so found its way into the Folio.

9.

IV. 4. 1—66.

(Q<sub>1</sub>): *Fort.* Captaine, from us goe greete  
The king of Denmarke:  
Tell him that Fortenbrasse nephew to old Norway  
*Craues* a free passe and conduct ouer his land,  
According to the Articles agreed on:  
You know our Randeuous, goe march away.

(Q<sub>2</sub>): *Fortin.* Goe Captaine, from me greet the Danish King,  
Tell him, that by his lycence Fortinbrasse  
*Craues* the conueyance of a promisd march  
Ouer his kingdome, you know the randeuous  
If that his Maiestie would ought with vs,  
We shall expresse our dutie in his eye,  
And let him know so.

*Cap.* I will doo't my Lord.

*For.* Goe *softly* on.



Follow fifty-nine lines (conversation between Hamlet and the Captain, and the soliloquy: "How all occasions doe informe against me").

(F<sub>1</sub>): *For.* Go Captaine, from me greet the Danish King,  
Tell him that by his license, Fortinbras  
*Claimes* the conueyance of a promis'd March  
Ouer his Kingdome. You know the Rendeuous:  
If that his Maiesty would ought with vs,  
We shall expresse our dutie in his eye,  
And let him know so.

*Cap.* I will doo't, my Lord.

*For.* Go *safely* on.

There is this agreement between Q<sub>1</sub> and F<sub>1</sub> against Q<sub>2</sub>, that both lack Hamlet's conversation with the captain and the soliloquy. The agreement, however, is only on the negative side. The nine lines of the Folio are strikingly identical with the corresponding lines of Q<sub>2</sub> (with the exception of Q<sub>2</sub>-*craues* — F<sub>1</sub>-*claimes*; Q<sub>2</sub>-*softly* — F<sub>1</sub>-*safely*.) There is much more difference between the nine lines of the Folio and the six lines of Q<sub>1</sub>. On the positive side there is no connection between Q<sub>1</sub> and F<sub>1</sub>. — On the other hand the *craues* of Q<sub>2</sub> is also in Q<sub>1</sub>, which establishes a connection between these two texts.

I think the passage with the captain, and the soliloquy, are a later addition in Q<sub>2</sub>, which addition it was afterwards thought advisable to suppress again, in order to shorten the piece. And we may conclude that the agreement between Q<sub>1</sub> and F<sub>1</sub> is merely accidental.

10.

V. 2. 68—80.

(Q<sub>1</sub>):

*Enter Hamlet and Horatio*

*Ham.* beleeeue mee, it greeues mee much Horatio,

That to Leartes I forgot my selfe:

For by my selfe me thinkes I feele his griefe,

Though there's a difference in each others wrong.

*Enter a Bragart Gentleman*

(Q<sub>2</sub>): *Enter Hamlet and Horatio.*

A scene of 71 lines, the last five of which are:

- (63) *Ham.* Does it not thinke thee stand me now vpon?  
 He that hath kild my King, and whor'd my mother,  
 Pop't in betweene th'election and my hopes,  
 Throwne out his Angle for my proper life,  
 (67) And with such cunage, i't not perfect conscience?

*Enter a Courtier.*

(F<sub>1</sub>): *Enter Hamlet and Horatio.*

A scene of eighty-six lines, the last nineteen of which are as follows:

- (63) *Ham.* Does it not, thinkst thee, stand me now vpon  
 He that hath kil'd my King, and whor'd my Mother,  
 Popt in betweene th'election and my hopes,  
 Thrown out his Angle for my proper life,  
 (67) And with such coozenage; is't not perfect conscience,  
*To quit him with this arme? And is't not to be damn'd*  
*To let this Canker of our nature come*  
*In further euill.*

*Hor.* It must be shortly knowne to him from England  
*What is the issue of the businesse there.*

*Ham.* It will be short,

- The interim's mine, and a mans life's no more*  
 (74) *Then to say one:* but I am very sorry good Horatio,  
 That to Laertes I forgot my selfe;  
 For by the image of my Cause, I see  
 (77) The Portraiture of his; Ile count his fauours:  
 But sure the brauery of his grief did put me  
 Into a Towring passion.  
 (80) *Hor.* Peace, who comes heere?

*Enter young Osricke.*

The scene, as it is in the Folio, is identical with Q<sub>2</sub>, but for the last thirteen lines (68—80), which are wanting in Q<sub>2</sub>. The contents of this omitted passage compel us, as I tried to demonstrate in Chapter II, section E. 3, to consider it an accidental omission from Q<sub>2</sub>. Nevertheless there are four lines of this passage (74—77) which have a parallel in the four lines of Q<sub>1</sub> quoted above, and which therefore constitute

an apparent connection between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$ . These four lines of  $Q_1$ , though showing great similarity in substance, are yet greatly dissimilar in form. In Ch. III, sect. 65, I pointed out that the  $F_1$  lines are a revision of the  $Q_1$  ones, so that we are not justified in seeing in them any direct connection between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$ . Besides it might be asked: if there is such a direct connection, from what source did the Folio Editors get the rest of the omitted passages (the lines in italics: 68—74), and what was their authority for revising the four lines of  $Q_1$ ?

It was argued above that the thirteen lines omitted from  $Q_2$  were nevertheless dramatically and logically necessary to that text, so that it was probable that the manuscript for  $Q_2$  originally contained the lines. Another argument comes to strengthen this. If  $Q_1$  is indeed the more or less corrupt reflection of the original X-manuscript, which was the basis of Shakespeare's later revision, and if  $Q_1$  contains a passage (the four lines on Leartes) which is necessary to understand Hamlet's changed attitude to Leartes, then there is some probability that the revision ( $Q_2$ ) also contained this necessary passage, though in a revised form.

If there existed some direct connection between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$ , which connection, however, was obscured by the shortening and consequent corruption of  $Q_1$ , this agreement should manifest itself — in those passages of  $Q_1$ , which are virtually identical with the corresponding parts of  $Q_2$  and  $F_1$ , and therefore not corrupted by cutting — in the spelling and in the occasional agreement of words. In order to put this question to the test, I here give an enumeration of the variations in spelling and wording of four such passages, long speeches which are almost literally the same in  $Q_1$ ,  $Q_2$  and  $F_1$ .

1.

I. 1. 70—79. (Marcellus' speech : "Good now sit downe") :

	$Q_1$ .	$Q_2$ .	$F_1$ .
	strikt	strikt	strict
	toyles	toiles	toyles
(1) *	<i>why</i>	with	<i>why</i>
	cast	cost	Cast
	brazen	brazon	Brazon
	forraine	forraine	Forraigne
	marte	marte	Mart
	ship-writes	ship-writes	ship-wrights
	diuide	deuide	diuide
	march	hast	hast
	ioynt	ioynt	ioyn—
	me	mee	m

In this speech there are two cases where  $Q_2$  and  $F_1$  agree against  $Q_1$  ; four cases where  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  agree against  $Q_2$  ; five cases where  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  agree against  $F_1$ .

2.

I. 1. 157—164. (Marcellus' speech : "It faded on the crowing") :

	$Q_1$ .	$Q_2$ .	$F_1$ .
	Cocke	Cock	Cocke
	say	say	sayes
	spirite	spirit	spirit
	dare	dare	can
(2) *	<i>walke</i>	sturre	<i>walke</i>
	wholesome	wholsome	wholsome
	planet	plannets	Planets
	strikes	strike	strike
	Fairie	fairy	Faiery
	Witch	witch	Witch
	takes	takes	talkes
	powre	power	power
	so gracious, and so	so hallowed, and so	so hallowed, and so
	hallowed is that time	gratious in that time	gracious is the time.

In this speech there are four cases where  $Q_2$  and  $F_1$  agree against  $Q_1$  ; four cases where  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  agree against  $F_1$  ; three cases where  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  agree against  $Q_2$ .



3.

I. 4. 39—57. (Hamlet's speech: "Angels and Ministers of grace"):

Q <sub>1</sub> .	Q <sub>2</sub> .	F <sub>1</sub> .
spirite intents	spirit intents	Spirit events
Thou commest in such questionable shape	Thou com'st in such <i>a</i> questionable shape,	Thou com'st in such <i>a</i> questionable shape
O answer mee mee	ô answer mee me	Oh, oh, answer me me
but say ceremonies	but tell cerements	but tell cerments
thy Sepulcher	the Sepulcher	the Sepulcher
In which interr'd	Wherein interr'd	Wherein enurn'd
Hath burst corse	Hath op't corse	Hath op'd Coarse
glimses hideous	glimses hideous	glimpses hidious
horridely	horridly	horridly
beyond the reaches	beyond the reaches	beyond thee; reaches
Say, speake, wherefore, what may this meane?	Say why is this, wherefore, what should we doe?	Say, why is this? Wherefore? what should we doe?

In this speech there are nine cases where Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub> agree against Q<sub>1</sub>; seven cases where Q<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub> agree against F<sub>1</sub>; not one case in which Q<sub>1</sub> and F<sub>1</sub> agree against Q<sub>2</sub>.

4.

II. 2. 60—79. (Voltimand's speech.)

Q <sub>1</sub>	Q <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>1</sub>
returnes	returne	returne
forth	out	out
nephews	Nephews	Nephewes
appear'd	appeard	appear'd
Polacke	Pollacke	Poleak
look't	lookt	look'd
truely	truly	truly
Hignesse	highnes	Hignesse
griued	green'd	greued

sicknesse	sicknes	Sickness
falsely	falsly	falsely
in briefe	in breefe	(in breefe)
obays	obeyes	obeyes
Norway	Norway	Norway
the assay	th' assay	th' assay
olde	old	old
Norway	Norway	Norway
(3)* <i>three</i> thousand	<i>threescore</i> thousand	<i>three</i> thousand
to employ	to imploy	to imploy
souldiers	souldiers	Soldiers
as before	(as before)	as before
Polacke	Pollacke	Poleak
intreaty	entreatie	intreaty
shewne	shone	shewne
would	might	might
that enterprise	this enterprise	his Enterprize
regardes	regard	regards
allowances	allowance	allowance

In this speech there are eleven cases where  $Q_2$  and  $F_1$  agree against  $Q_1$ ; five cases where  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  agree against  $F_1$ ; five cases where  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  agree against  $Q_2$ .

Summing up the results of these four comparisons, we have: (a) twenty-six cases where  $Q_2$  and  $F_1$  agree against  $Q_1$ ; (b) twenty-one cases where  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  agree against  $F_1$ ; (c) twelve cases where  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  agree against  $Q_2$ . It appears that even in those passages where the three texts have an even chance, the cases in which  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  agree against  $Q_2$  are a minority, so that these passages afford no evidence of any direct connection between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$ , rather of the contrary.

The three cases in which  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$  agree against  $Q_2$  in the choice of words, I have marked with a\*.

To these I may add the remarkable case of line l. 1. 45.

(4)\* (*Marcellus*)

( $Q_1$ ): *Question* it, Horatio.

( $Q_2$ ): *Speake* to it, Horatio.

( $F_1$ ): *Question* it, Horatio.

Cases (1) and (3) represent printer's errors in  $Q_2$  (*with* for *why*; *threescore* for *three*). Cases (2) ( $Q_2$ : *sturre*,  $Q_1$ ,  $F_1$ : *walke*) and (4) ( $Q_2$ : *speake to*,  $Q_1$ ,  $F_1$ : *Question*) are I think explained as follows. The X-text had *walke* and *Question*, which words the actor had memorized. Shakespeare revised these, in the manuscript for  $Q_2$ , into *sturre* and *Speake to* (See Ch. III. Sect. 1). The actor, however, continued saying the old words, which did not mar the sense or the metre, and then the prompter corrected his copy of  $Q_2$  accordingly. This prompter's copy was used to print  $F_1$  from.

Considering the arguments set forth in the present chapter, I think we may now answer the question at the head of it in the negative.

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## CHAPTER V.

### The Piracy.

The First Quarto of *Hamlet* was published in 1603, with the following title-page :

The / Tragicall History of / Hamlet / *Prince of Denmarke* / By William Shake-speare. / As it hath beene diverse times acted by his Highnesse ser- / uants in the Cittie of London : as also in the two V- / niuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where / At London printed for N. L. and Iohn Trundell. / 1603.

The publication had been preceded in 1602 by an entry in the *Stationers' Registers*.<sup>1)</sup> The text shows some criteria of what Mr. Pollard calls a "good" quarto, viz. no division into acts and scenes, brief stage-directions, of which one is in the imperative. The stage-directions show great care and consistency. The text gives a complete play, that is to say nothing essential is wanting, nothing is out of place; there are no passages left unexplained and all actions are sufficiently motivated. The omissions can be explained as "cuts", made for stage-representation. As a stage-play, Q<sub>1</sub> is strong, effective, dramatic. The characters are consistent throughout.

All this, the name of the author on the title-page, the company who performed the play, and the places where they did so, the names of the publishers and the date, the previous entry in the *Stationers' Registers* protecting the copyright, the nature of the text itself, all this makes for the authenticity of Q<sub>1</sub>. We may safely say, had this been the only existing text of Shakespeare's play, nobody would have thought of piracy in connection with this text. — What then has given rise to this wide-spread belief that

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<sup>1)</sup> For the arguments in favour of the authenticity of Q<sub>1</sub>, and for those against the piracy by shorthand, I am indebted to Prof. Hubbard's admirable introduction to his edition of the First Quarto. (*University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, Number 8, 1920).



$Q_1$  is a piracy? — Readers, and even critics, especially the older ones, compared the newly discovered *Hamlet*-text (1823) with the carefully edited text with which they were familiar; they were struck by the sad typographical condition of the First Quarto, and forgot that, when compared with other printed plays of the time,  $Q_1$  does not at all cut a bad figure. And then, people were so familiar with the “received text” that all differences seemed to them so many “corruptions”. This attitude caused the so-called mutilation-theory, the supporters of which held that  $Q_1$  was a corruption of  $Q_2$ , probably obtained by shorthand. It was not difficult, by pointing to the scenes peculiar to  $Q_1$ , to the transposition of scenes, and to Shakespearean phrases in  $Q_1$  which had no parallels in  $Q_2$ , to prove that this view was wrong. The mutilation-theory has no supporters now. The alternative was:  $Q_1$  was derived from an early version, but still the shorthand pirate was assigned a large share in the production of the text. He was now helped by a hack poet who filled in the notes made by the reporter at the theatre, he even received some “part” of the latest text from some dishonest actor. His tenacious life was only put an end to by Messrs. Pollard and Wilson, in their articles in *The Times, Literary Supplement*, Jan. 9 and 16, 1919, but especially by Prof. Hubbard. Pollard and Wilson suggested that the “hack poet” was no other than the author of the original play. Prof. Hubbard pointed out, that if  $Q_1$  was based on shorthand reports, we should find mistakes of the ear, which nobody has been able to prove conclusively. We should then also find “lacunae showing loss of matter important in the action or necessary to an understanding of the action, dislocation (speeches, passages, or scenes obviously in the wrong places), evident omission of parts absolutely necessary to the understanding of other parts, many speeches given to the wrong characters, striking inconsistencies, patching together of pieces of good material by pieces obviously inferior in quality”. The systems of shorthand, in existence about the year 1600, were so

ineffectual, that, had they been used, we should have had a text, a good deal more "corrupt" than we have now. Pollard and Wilson have pointed out, that no mention is made of stenographic pirates before 1605. The second theory of piracy by shorthand may therefore also be considered as exploded. — The old notion of an actor, probably a minor one, supplying the printer with parts of the latest ( $Q_2$ ) text, remained, however, and Mr. Wilson gave it new life in his booklet *The Copy for "Hamlet," 1603 and The "Hamlet" Transcript, 1593*. (Ch. III. p. 61, *supra*). This author defends the view that the pirate was an actor who sold to the printers the parts he played, together with what he remembered of the others.<sup>1)</sup> His starting-point is the Voltimand-speech of II. 2., which is almost literally the same in the three texts. This is considered as evidence that the player who played Voltimand was the pirate. This same actor, according to Mr. Wilson, played six more parts, so that he was often on the stage or just off it, which enabled him to hear much of the other parts. This he memorized as best he could, and so could supply the  $Q_1$ -printers not only with his own "parts", but also with much of the others. Of course his memory was often at fault, and this explains the numerous corruptions which cannot be attributed to the adapter. (See Ch. III). The reader will see the extreme usefulness of this eavesdropping actor to make away with difficulties in the text. If the words in  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  are the same, he has remembered them rightly, if not, his memory is to blame. The fellow runs with the hare and hunts with the hounds. However, Mr. Wilson's arguments in support of his specious theory, are absolutely insufficient. The similarity of the Voltimand speech in  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  can be accounted for in another way. (Compare, for instance, Hamlet's first speech to the Ghost: "Angels and Ministers of grace defend us,"

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<sup>1)</sup> For a full discussion of this theory see my article: "New Shakespeare Criticism", *Neophilologus*, VIII, 4. (July 1923).

I. 4. 39—57, which presents nearly as much similarity in the two texts as the one by Voltimand). The Marcellus part, which is one of the seven small parts given to the pirate, is not at all identical in the two texts, nor are the others. In defending his theory, the critic is occasionally compelled to the wildest assumptions. Thus, to explain the hand of the pirate-actor in the “to be or not to be” soliloquy, he has to assume that the pirate was on the scene just before, *in order to arrange an altar for Ophelia to pray at!* This would enable him to listen at the door, and so to get some vague notion of the soliloquy. The great cut at the opening of I. 2. (Q<sub>1</sub>) is explained as owing to the absence of the pirate-actor in the tiring-room, as if there were no rehearsals, when no change of costume was necessary. Referring the reader to Mr. Wilson’s booklet itself, and to my article mentioned above, I make bold to state that his “eavesdropping” theory has no more ground to stand upon than its stenographic predecessors. — My investigation of the text (Chapters III and IV) has not revealed a trace of any pirate. All differences between Q<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub>, and all corruptions could be accounted for without the extra-factor of piracy. The arguments in favour of such piracy have all proved futile. *I conclude therefore that there was no pirate.*

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## Conclusion.

This investigation has come to an end, and the only thing left for me to do is to survey the results. — In the First Chapter the reader will have found that no new ground was broken, and that no new facts were added to those already brought together. My aim was here to give a digest of current opinions concerning the “Ur-Hamlet” hypothesis. This chapter must be considered as an introduction to the real subject of this treatise, the relations between the three texts of *Hamlet*.

In the Second Chapter I started from Mr. Pollard's hypotheses. I then made a parallel comparison between the Second Quarto and the First Folio of *Hamlet*. The result of this investigation has been a confirmation of Mr. Pollard's views, as far as *Hamlet* is concerned. The inaccuracies and corruptions noticed by me in  $Q_2$  make for the theory that  $Q_2$  was printed from Shakespeare's MS., and at the same time help to prove that  $F_1$  was printed from a copy of  $Q_2$  which had been used at the theatre as prompter's copy. The stage-directions of  $Q_2$ , being of a technical (not descriptive) nature, mostly printed in the margin, also point to Shakespeare's MS. The passages which  $Q_3$  has over  $F_1$  are very instructive, as they prove, not only that  $F_1$  must have been printed from a stage-copy of  $Q_2$ , but also that Shakespeare, even after the play was printed, continued to add touches to his characters. When, therefore, we find that later revision by the author is partly responsible for the differences between  $Q_2$  and  $F_1$ , we are prepared to accept the factor of revision when comparing  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ . Moreover, such revisions afford us a glimpse in Shakespeare's workshop, and thereby help us to a better understanding of the play. — On the other hand I have found that those passages



which  $F_1$  has over  $Q_2$ , are all accidental omissions from  $Q_2$ , except two, which were cut from the  $Q_2$ -manuscript for reasons other than theatrical. The actors' interpolations which are traceable in the Folio strengthen the theory that  $F_1$  was printed from a stage-copy of  $Q_2$ . The numerous cases where the Folio doubles an emotional word of  $Q_2$ , very frequent in the Hamlet-part, have an additional interest, as they give a hint of the first Hamlet-player's conception of the part. There is much repetition in the Hamlet-part of  $Q_2$  too, so that I suggest that this feature belongs to Shakespeare's original conception of the character, and that Richard Burbage's personality may not immaterially have inspired Shakespeare for his characterization of Hamlet. — Taking all together, I trust this section of the work may have its use, whenever some abler hand will give to the world a standard text of *Hamlet*.

The III<sup>rd</sup> Chapter contains a comparison of  $Q_1$  with  $Q_2$  in their entirety. It will be seen that I agree with Messrs. Pollard and Wilson in thinking that  $Q_1$  is derived from an earlier version which had been shortened and adapted, probably for a tour in the provinces. (The idea of shortening and adaptation appears for the first time in the literature of the subject in an article by F. P. von Westenholz, entitled: "Die Hamlet-Quartos", which appeared in 1904 in *Englische Studien*.) I am also of opinion that  $Q_2$  is a second revision of the unshortened text. I disagree, however, with Messrs. Pollard and Wilson on the score of the piracy. I am convinced that no pirate, whether shorthand reporter or dishonest actor had any share in the production of  $Q_1$ . I have found no patches of the later version in  $Q_1$ , nor any passages which could not be explained as either owing to the old poet (Kyd), or to Shakespeare's first revision, or to the corruption by the adapter. My view of the  $Q_1$ -text is therefore simpler than Mr. Wilson's. I think the copy used by the  $Q_1$ -printer was a manuscript in the hands of Kyd and Shakespeare, containing the cuts and corruptions of the adapter.  $Q_2$ , on

the other hand, was a manuscript wholly in Shakespeare's handwriting. The writing of a new MS. for  $Q_2$  accounts for the occurrence of what I have called "minor variants". There are numerous indications of an independent MS. at the back of  $Q_1$ . As such I mention the names Corambis, Montano, Leartes, etc.; the scenes of  $Q_1$  which have no parallel in  $Q_2$ ; the occurrence in  $Q_1$  of many single lines which cannot be found in  $Q_2$ , and some of which may be traced to Kyd or Shakespeare, the rest being certainly beyond the feeble powers of the adapter. To these indications I also reckon to belong the peculiar position of other scenes, passages and single lines of  $Q_1$ , and the consistent use of the terms *father* and *son* between Hamlet and Claudius in  $Q_1$ , whereas in  $Q_2$  they studiously avoid these names; also the numerous passages, where it is clear that later revision has caused the differences between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$ , not later corruption. Lastly, the development of the characters is a noteworthy feature. — Much of the corruption of  $Q_1$  is owing to the drastic cuts made in the original Kyd-Shakespearean manuscript, wounds but imperfectly plastered over in places. The printer may safely be held responsible for the rest of the corruptions.

The IV<sup>th</sup> Chapter is devoted to a special discussion of the question whether there is any direct connection between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$ . From what was said in Chapters II and III, it might be deduced that there is no such connection. The assertion is often made, however, that  $F_1$  is derived from a stage-manuscript which was in existence at least twenty years before it was set up in print, and that  $F_1$  is, in places, nearer to the text of  $Q_1$  than to that of  $Q_2$ . This belief is founded on some passages of  $F_1$  which do indeed present a curious similarity to some of  $Q_1$ . However, I trust I have been able to demonstrate that all such agreement is but apparent or accidental. If there were a direct connection between parts of  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$ , this relation should manifest itself, in such passages as are virtually the same in the three texts, in the spelling and the choice of words. No such link

could be established. In the passages which I have investigated there was a closer connection between  $Q_2$  and  $F_1$ , than between  $Q_1$  and  $F_1$ .

In the V<sup>th</sup> Chapter I have given as my opinion that there was no piracy. Others have already shown that no shorthand writer can have had a hand in the production of the text of  $Q_1$ . I am equally convinced that Mr. Wilson's theory of an actor having been in the pay of the publisher, has nothing to recommend itself. There are no differences between  $Q_1$  and  $Q_2$  which cannot be cleared up without a pirate. I conclude therefore that  $Q_1$  is an honest text.

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